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The Week

EVEN while President Wilson was addressing Congress on Monday, events gave fresh point to his statement that "the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers." The torpedoing of the Laconia without warning, with the consequent taking of the lives of two American women and eight men, squarely met the President's own definition of an "overt act" by Germany. On February 3 he said that "if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed . . . in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity," he would ask Congress for the means to protect our seamen and our citizens. He asked it on Monday by way of abundant precaution. He stated with truth that our immunity thus far was a matter rather of happy accident than of any change in the instructions given to German naval commanders. The torpedoed Laconia and her dead Americans had confirmed that judgment before it was uttered. Defence was all that President Wilson said on February 3 he would ask; authority to take measures for defence is all that he did ask on Monday.

SPECIFICALLY, Mr. Wilson requested the backing of Congress in arming American merchantmen, and in employing "any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships." This is not so simple as it sounds. Many have talked as if it were as easy as rolling off a log to put guns on our vessels of commerce and then to leave the rest to them. But that question of "the rest" is the very crux of the business. Are our armed ships to fire upon a submarine on sight? That is the British practice, but the British are belligerents. Ostensibly, our ships would not be. Neutrals have a right to arm, undoubtedly, but it is on the old theory that they might meet pirates. Are we, then, to treat every German submarine as if it were a pirate? That would be more than the English do; they do not execute the crews of captured submarines. If our ships are really neutral, a submarine, operating under the rules of cruiser warfare, has the right to order them to stop and to be visited and searched. Would our captains refuse to permit that? Then they would, in the act, declare that they were belligerents, and imply that Germany had the status of an enemy. We refer to these difficulties, not in the least to oppose the arming of our ships, but simply for the purpose of indicating the perilous nature of the step—perilous, we mean, in that it may so easily lead to open hostilities. All these considerations must have been in the mind of the President and his advisers when they were hesitating to advise our shipowners to mount guns on their steamships. The Administration knew, even if its irresponsible critics did not, how delicate and complicated and hazardous a situation would be created. That the President finally assented to the plan, and sought approval of it from Congress, merely shows how critical he believes the emergency to be. But it is certain that he does not deceive himself—and nobody else ought to be deceived—about the strong probability that this measure of defence may lead to incidents which will cause the German Government to make a formal declaration of war.

WHEN we read, in Berlin's comment on the sinking of the Dutch grain ships, of orders and counter-orders, of "relative safety" on a certain route on February 22, and "absolute" safety on March 17 on all routes, we are confronted with a condition and a state of mind which enter intimately into the entire business of the submarine outlawry. The impression conveyed by these precise dates and routes and limited guarantees and full guarantees is that Germany has every detail of her submarine campaign planned out, every move foreseen, every contingency provided for. There is never a mistake, except minor "regrettable" mistakes, and whatever happens, the Lusitania or the Sussex or the Dutch ships, had to be, because it was the inflexible and justified will of the masters at Berlin. Yet it is altogether plain that German infallibility is no more true of the submarine than of any other form of German warfare. Orders probably fail to go out, or to be received, or are misunderstood, as has happened since the history of war in the world began. Commanders lose their heads or violate their instructions. In other words, in the submarine Germany has unloosed a murderous weapon which it cannot in the nature of things altogether control. It is the difference between a half-grown lad running loose with an automatic pistol and a responsible infantryman with a gun. In this murderous recklessness, under the pretence of infallibility, lies the worst iniquity of the U-boat terrorism.

UNTIL more definite information is at hand regarding the extent of the German retirement on the Ancre, we must take the move to be part of the German plan in the west for feeding out small portions of ground to the enemy with a minimum loss of life. Such a saving is not the only compensation, however, for the ground yielded. There is undoubtedly the advantage of stiffened resistance in new positions which have not received the attention of the enemy's artillery. That, perhaps, is the main justification for the tactics of gradual withdrawal. If we imagine the British army preparing for the great spring "push," if we recall the infinite detail that goes into such preparation, the mapping of trenches and the adjustment of gun-ranges to the last inch almost, we can see how the voluntary surrender of a mile or two of trenches by the Germans is likely to undo much of this preliminary work. Again and again in the Allied attacks in the west there has been a failure of great results because of a breakdown of the Allied plan along a small portion of the line. A sudden twist in the battle-line, such as the German withdrawal has produced, may necessitate weeks of new reconnaissance, range-finding, road-building, and a delay in the general offensive—all a sufficient price for a couple of square miles of abandoned terrain.

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"THE war expenditure of the world," declared the German Finance Minister, in his budget speech of Saturday to the Reichstag, "exceeds 300,000,000,000 marks and not more than 100,000,000,000 is our share." By "our share," Count von Roedern was referring to the share of the Central Powers, and he was evidently estimating annual expenditure. His reckoning of the world's present war expenditure, translated on the usual basis into American values, would mean $75,000,000,000 per annum, $6,250,000,000 per month, and $223,000,000 per day. The estimate is striking; for in August, 1915, Dr. Helfferich, then Imperial Finance Minister, estimated $75,000,000 as the daily average war expenditure of all belligerents; one-third of which he estimated to have been spent by the Teutonic Allies, or $25,000,000, as against the present German estimate of $100,000,000. For Germany alone, the credit now asked is for $3,750,000,000 and is stated to cover the outlay of four months. This would mean $30,000,000 for Germany's present daily average, as against $16,700,000 estimated by Dr. Helfferich in the summer of 1915. These last-named figures, being reported by the German Government itself, should be trustworthy, and the British Exchequer's weekly statements of the past four or five weeks have indicated a daily average war expenditure somewhat above $35,000,000, as against $16,000,000 in the same weeks a year before.

IN these figures for Germany and England it must always be remembered that England's war appropriations are very largely swelled by advances to her allies, and, presumably, that the German Government is similarly burdened by the requisitions of Turkey and Bulgaria. Therefore the estimate of Berlin on the outlay of all belligerents combined may not be wholly accurate. But the immensely rapid increase in the German expenditure is in any case a sufficient explanation for the recourse to new taxation, just announced by the Finance Minister. This month, we learn, the German Government is to issue another war loan. If interest on the war debt then existing were not covered at all by increased taxation, one-fifth to one-fourth of the proceeds of the loan would have to be used for the purpose, and diverted, therefore, from military purposes. How much, if any, of the annual interest charge is already met by this new taxation, we do not clearly know; nor is it possible to judge whether the newly announced taxes will cover all of it. The cables on Saturday, reporting Count von Roedern's speech, told of a proposed 20 per cent. increase in taxes—which on its face would hardly seem to be sufficient, since the total imperial revenue in the last full year of peace was less than $900,000,000; whereas annual interest on the war debt (assuming the approaching loan this month to be as large as last October's) would exceed $700,000,000.

THE Senate has at last passed the new organic act for Porto Rico, granting the inhabitants American citizenship and a fuller self-government; and it is expected that the House will promptly agree to it. The act is thoroughly liberal. The island's present Legislative Assembly has an upper house—the Council—appointed by the President; the new one will in both branches be elective. The qualifications for voters upon which the Senate after long debate has determined seem both generous and just. At the first election the voters shall be those adults now having the requisite qualifications (males with one year's residence now vote); thereafter they shall be those who are citizens of the United States, who are twenty-one or over, and who possess what other qualifications the Legislature may prescribe. The Legislature may decide for or against woman suffrage, and may make no demands as to property. Prohibition is fastened upon the island to begin with, but at any time within five years 10 per cent. of the voters may obtain a referendum vote on the question. The measure is a fit supplement to that passed last year granting a larger degree of self-government to the Philippines.

IT was not a threat that Dr. Iyenaga uttered when he declared that there is danger to our friendly relations with Japan in the favorite Pacific Coast game of worrying alien landowners, which means, of course, Japanese landowners. It is a fact of which people of sense and justice have always been aware. What makes the behavior of Idaho and Oregon all the more inexcusable is the absence of provocation. If ever there was a Japanese "peril," it has been removed by the unwritten agreement between the two countries under which Japanese immigration has ceased. White civilization on the Pacific Coast is not in danger of engulfment. It is only white prejudice which will not grant fair play to the small number of Japanese agriculturists long settled in this country. It is prejudice more than selfish interests, because the competition of these Japanese farmers and agricultural laborers is an insignificant factor in the economic life of the Pacific Coast. What we are observing in the Far West is the attempt of politicians to capitalize Japanese-baiting after the classic example of negro-baiting in the South.

OF the twenty-two States with prohibition laws, only eight have stopped the importation of small quantities of liquor for personal use; the new Congressional "bone-dry" measure will thus fasten upon fourteen States a sterner prohibition than they have given themselves. But it is doubtful if Congress is acting in contravention of the will of more than a few, if any. Since the Supreme Court's decision on the Webb-Kenyon act, one State after another has passed a "bone-dry" law. Many were simply waiting for this decision in order to act, and we have not heard of a "bone-dry" proposal being defeated in the last few weeks. The Congressional action offers a short cut, while providing a rigorous exclusion of liquor from interstate carriers that will supplement the existing State "bone-dry" laws. Men can still take an occasional drink in the few prohibition States which permit the continued manufacture of liquor and its shipment in small quantities to individuals. But in general, prohibition States will hereafter be under the necessity of going the whole road. The States that swear off must swear off completely.

THE interesting story about the political situation in New Mexico, printed last week in the New York *Times*, emphasizes the independent attitude of the voters last November. New Mexico, if we judge by her course while a Territory, is normally Republican. In 1912, the Republicans and the Progressives outvoted the Democrats by more than 5,000. Prospects for 1916 looked rosy, and the Old Guard named the State boss for Governor. Then indifference to supposedly minor matters, which is a besetting sin of all but the very shrewdest politicians, coupled with the fact that the second place on the ticket was going begging,

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caused those in control to allow the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor of a delegate so progressive that he had declared himself through with the Republican party in New Mexico. This seemed a good joke to the Old Guard. Nor did it fail to tickle the voters, and in November the latter elected the Democratic candidate for Governor—and the ultra-progressive Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Now the Governor has died, and the radical Republican is the titular head of the party in the State. This is a piquant situation, but one's more serious interest is in the voters of New Mexico, who split their ballots so as to elect a Democratic Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Adjutant-General, and Attorney-General, and a Republican Lieutenant-Governor, Auditor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Commissioner of Insurance. What does the West think that straight tickets are for?

LYNCHING even of guilty persons is revolting, but what words can express the horror with which one reads of the lawless execution of the innocent? Yet, as if her record of mob violence were not black enough, Georgia finds that she has added to it this last touch of barbarism. A year ago, a negro named Keith was saved by county officers from a mob bent upon lynching him for his alleged part in the murder of a Sheriff. Five other negroes were killed by the mob. Keith was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to a life term. Then new evidence was discovered, which showed that neither Keith nor any of the five men who had been lynched was guilty. Keith received his freedom at the hands of a white jury, but not all the willingness in the world to do justice could bring back the five murdered men from their graves. "What a commentary upon the accursed institution of lynching!" the Atlanta *Constitution* exclaims. But this is a case in which the innocence of the victims was established. How many cases are there in which the fact of lynching ended investigation which might have shown similar guiltlessness in other suspected persons? No wonder that the *Constitution* demands: "How long are the decent, law-abiding citizens of Georgia going to tolerate this disgraceful, barbaric practice—which is the foulest blot upon the name of the State to-day?"

A PENSION fund which is based upon sound actuarial principles is so rare that it is no wonder the Carnegie Foundation voted $325,000 in aid of one. As it happens to be the five-million-dollar fund for the retiring clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, there is evidently less point in the current fling at the unpractical character of all ecclesiastical effort than some persons have realized. What impressed Mr. Pritchett's associates was the provision that a reserve should be accumulated year by year from the contributions from the parishes, which, by actuarial computation, would take care of the pensions as they accrued. "Other pension systems please copy" might well be written across this one, in view of what has been disclosed all over the country lately whenever a pension fund was examined. Whether the Church Pension Fund was already proceeding upon safer lines than these, or its organizers took warning from them, does not greatly matter. Bishop Lawrence puts his finger upon the central truth in the matter when he says that it is as important to place the whole pension-fund movement upon a sound basis as it is to establish such funds. We have tried the other way, to our sorrow.

EVEN for a man who could write the "Recollections of Seventy Years" fifteen years before he died, Franklin B. Sanborn played many parts—too many to play them all well, perhaps. But long after he has been forgotten as a journalist, as a philosopher, as an historian, perhaps even as an administrator of State charities, he will be remembered as the last surviving reporter of the great Concord group, and as one of the most interesting of all its reporters. There is something a little saddening in the thought that with him goes the last living link with the most distinguished circle in our literature and thought. It is now above a half-century since Hawthorne and Thoreau died; it is well above a quarter-century since the deaths of Emerson and the two Alcotts. The surviving spectators of the group they constituted have passed away, one by one—Ellery Channing early in the century, W. T. Harris in 1909, Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1911, J. T. Trowbridge last year. The books which Mr. Sanborn wrote detailing his recollections of Concord surpass in interest the recollections left by any of these figures. His biographies and volumes of memories have many faults, but they will remain storehouses of information.

THE opportunities Sanborn enjoyed for becoming a note-taker on the Transcendentalists and their neighbors were of most unusual sort. He was twenty-three when engaged by Emerson in 1854-5 to open a school in Concord for the instruction of Emerson's three children, Judge Hoar's three children, and the grandchildren of the learned Mrs. Samuel Ripley. Before Hawthorne had returned from Liverpool to place his son Julian in this school, where were also sons of Horace Mann and two brothers of Henry James, he had become a companion of the neighborhood's great men. Hawthorne's friends "had become my friends, and I had lived familiarly in the houses of Ellery Channing and Thoreau, and walked with them and with Emerson many more days and miles than Hawthorne did in his first Concord residence. . . . George William Curtis . . . had also become my friend . . . and Longfellow . . . had been one of my instructors at Harvard." The volumes on Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott are as far from having the biographical finality the author perhaps hoped to give them as from having critical definitiveness; even the brochure on Hawthorne is not always trustworthy. But they have an intimacy we can hardly discover elsewhere. Where else can we find such stories as that of the rebuke Emerson's severe aunt gave to Thoreau's poor mother? "I keep my eyes shut while you are talking," she declared, "because I do not wish to look upon those ribbons of yours, so unsuitable to a person of your character." Where else are such informing speeches as that of the neighbor who told Sanborn of the three churches in Concord—the Orthodox, the Unitarian, and the Walden Pond Association—composed of those who wandered in the woods? The patrician sensitiveness of Hawthorne, the clerical desire of Emerson to serve, the peasant-like industry and refractory social attitude which Thoreau inherited from Jersey Island fathers, may not have existed in just the degree Sanborn thought they did; but he writes illuminatingly of them. He was secretary and part-founder of the Concord School of Philosophy, in later decades, and Channing died at Sanborn's Concord home.

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The President to Congress and the People

IN his message to Congress and to the country on Monday, President Wilson laid upon himself the same restraint and the same rules of prudence that have marked his attitude towards Germany from the first day until now. He admits that the "overt act" of which he spoke on February 3 has not yet occurred—though the details of the sinking of the Laconia, when they are fully known, may show that it has. In any event, Mr. Wilson believes that he can no longer delay asking from Congress the authority and the means to take the necessary and wise steps to defend imperilled American rights. In the act, however, the President disclaims any aggressively belligerent purpose. He renews, in his own name and in that of this nation, devotion to peace with prayer that war may be averted. Even the defensive measures which he requests Congress to authorize, he speaks of only as contingent. The arming is merely against an evil day which may not come. Still is the door left open to Germany to avoid a conflict. And while certain of the powers which he desires Congress to confer upon him are large and indefinite, the spirit in which Mr. Wilson has taken his action—fortified as it is by his long record, open to all the world, of forbearance and hoping even against hope—makes it sure that he will never use recklessly the means placed in his hands. Without a word intended to outrage German sensibilities or to inflame American opinion, President Wilson approaches Congress in so magnanimous an attitude and with such reasoned appeal that the response cannot be doubted.

What has been called the "Fight for an Extra Session" plainly took on an entirely new phase after the events on Monday. Senator Lodge's speech, before the Republican filibuster was abandoned on Saturday night, took the ground that "the representatives of the people" ought to be present in Washington so long as the President's foreign policy, in the face of a crisis which might mean war, had not been clearly defined. That argument no longer exists. If President Wilson finds it necessary to summon the new Congress, it will be for reasons quite other than those which prompted the Republican manœuvre to force an extra session. That attempt broke down. It did so less on account of Democratic attack than because some Republican Senators refused to press it. They saw no clear party advantage in precipitating a row over the Speakership of the new House. Mr. Mann is the designated Republican candidate, but his election would be bitterly opposed by many Republicans, and angrily resented by many more. And when it is further considered that the Republicans could not possibly pass a high-tariff bill in the next Congress, their partisan motive in hurrying up its meeting largely disappears.

There remains the asserted fear that, with Congress out of the way, the President might get the country into war. On this subject a great deal of loose and foolish talk has been heard. People have lost themselves in abstractions. It is true that the Constitution reserves to Congress the function of declaring war. But it is also true that no Congress has ever refused to vote war measures at the request of the President. Congresses have not been, as a rule, less belligerent than Presidents. If anything, the reverse has been the case. In 1898, it was Congress—with popular clamor behind it—that forced McKinley's hand and brought on the war with Spain. On the other hand, it is always possible for a President so to shape the issues of a foreign dispute, in his presentation of them to Congress, as to make the result a foregone conclusion. President Polk was able, in this way, to induce Congress to declare war upon Mexico.

It is not the "paper" division of powers which really counts in the question of war or peace. The decisive factors are the national temper, as it is reflected in Congress, and, above all, the leadership of the Executive. He is charged with the sole conduct of foreign affairs. In that constitutional right of his there lies a dread responsibility. There might lie also in it a terrible danger; if we could suppose an American President ever so abandoned to reckless ambition, so deaf to human appeals, so out of touch with the deep peace-loving instincts of the people of the United States, as deliberately to scheme for war, when he might honorably have kept us at peace. Such a President is, happily, inconceivable. Certainly, no present opponent or future historian can charge that Woodrow Wilson was bent on embroiling this nation in foreign wars. He has resisted enormous pressure, and rivalled Lincoln in patience.

Tactics of Armageddon

THERE are phrases in Lloyd George's speech before the House of Commons which would seem to take the submarine war as seriously as the Germans profess to regard it. When the Premier declares that an increase in home production of food is "essential for the life of the nation," he apparently acquiesces in the possibility of England's being cut off from her oversea supplies. And since no conceivable increase in home production can ever suffice to feed England, this in turn would be an admission that the starvation of England is a possibility. If that is really the state of mind in England, then Armageddon is here in a sense that the war has not known up to the present. Imagine the Germans victorious in the battle of the Marne, bombarding Paris, driving their way into Petrograd and Moscow. The results would not even then be comparable to what Germany will attain if her U-boats are victorious. France reduced to a permanent vassalage, Russia permanently cut off from the west, a Hohenzollern Central Empire from Berlin to Bagdad, would have registered the last stage but one in Germany's stride towards world-mastery. But the final stage would still have to be traversed. We still speak of a German victory and the establishment of *Mittel-Europa* as a menace to British rule in Egypt and India. But to-day Germany is not fighting for vantage-ground from which to attack Egypt and India in a second war. There is to be no second war. If England is starved, it does not merely mean a collapse in Flanders, in the Balkans, in Russia. It means the end of the British Empire.

If the Germans who know are sincere in their expressed belief that they can end the war by the starvation of England, they cannot believe that the same means will also shorten the war. England cannot be starved in three months, nor yet in six, if the problem really becomes for her one of survival. Let us imagine the attrition of England's mercantile fleet to continue unchecked or even accelerated. The effect would be first felt in the war on land.

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There might be a withdrawal from the Balkans for the purpose of economizing tonnage. As matters grew worse there would be an abandonment of communications with Russia. As matters grew critical we may imagine the abandonment of France and Italy to their fate by the withdrawal of the British armies from the Continent. At bay within her own islands, her mercantile fleet doubled by the release of more than half her present tonnage employed for Admiralty purposes, all the energies now devoted to keeping three million soldiers across the seas turned to shipbuilding and naval warfare, carrying on the war against German commerce after the Continent had yielded to the German will—how soon would England be starved? These are remote, almost fantastic speculations, yet they are implied in the German threat to end the war by starving England. Nor will the Germans be eager to shorten the war if the U-boats begin to redeem the high hopes based upon them. Let us imagine England so troubled by the submarines as to express her willingness to listen to terms which the Kaiser once stood ready to offer. Could not the demand arise that no terms should be made with a wavering enemy, that the fight should be carried to the bitter end, that no England should be left to deal with in the future?

Such considerations are based on the hypothesis that the German war leaders are sincere in their predictions of the starving of England. It is our own belief that they have no such confidence, and that they have no such purpose even. It is not the starvation of England they aim at, but the crippling of England's effort. It is not the winning of the war on sea they have in mind, but the frustration of the Allied campaign on land. The submarine war is part of the great defensive for the preservation of the war map on which Germany bases her claims to victory. If communication by sea with Russia can be interrupted, if the transportation of troops to the Balkans and Egypt can be rendered hazardous, if the shipping of troops to France and their maintenance there can be hindered and rendered more expensive, it will mean that the blows which the Allies must deliver against the German trench wall in Europe and Asia will be weakened, that the Allies will lose confidence, that the Russians and the Italians, and perhaps the French, too, after their extraordinary sacrifices, may be more susceptible to offers of peace. It is not for England alone that Bethmann-Hollweg, it will be recalled, invoked the threat of famine. France, too, needs grain, coal, iron. The U-boat pressure on England is indirectly, but more intensely, pressure on her allies on the Continent. Germany has no real hopes of starving the British Empire out of existence. She does count on reducing France and Russia to a willingness to talk peace.

And this purpose, we believe, is recognized in England. If Lloyd George in one place speaks of tonnage as essential to the life of England, he uses in another place the significant expression, "A shortage of tonnage required for the general needs of the nation, *and even a slight shortage in the tonnage for military purposes.*" Here the purpose of the war is put before the general needs of the nation. We cannot but see in this a notification to the Germans that England is prepared to impose the same sacrifices on the civic population as Germany herself for the maintenance of the military effort. It means that England is not yet prepared to go over to the defensive. It is a state of mind which removes the actual starvation of England into a fairly distant future.

England's New War Loan

THE statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the "new money" from subscriptions to the third British war loan, results of which are now fully ascertained, will exceed $5,000,000,000, marks a high level in the financial achievements of the war. This loan is peculiar in several ways. For one thing, it offers subscribers the option of a 5 per cent. bond on whose interest the income tax will be levied, or a 4 per cent. issue, non-taxable except for the "super-tax"on certain large incomes. The difference in yield in the two varieties allows for the present basic income tax of something like 25 per cent., and gives subscribers an opportunity to shape their plans according to their view of the probability of a higher tax rate later. Only $110,000,000 of the subscriptions were for the tax-free bonds.

It was also provided, at the issue of the 4½ per cent. war loan of 1915, that holders of those bonds should be entitled to exchange them for any future war loan placed at a higher rate. These applications for conversion, however, are not included in Mr. Bonar Law's £1,000,000,000 estimate. That represents the actual cash subscriptions. Stated in American values, at the conventional rate of measuring England's currency, the amount received will exceed $5,000,000,000, as compared with $2,925,000,000 similarly received from the war loan of 1915, and $1,750,000,000 from that of 1914.

This far overtops the financing of any other nation in this war. Germany's largest achievements were the $3,025,000,000 subscribed to the loan of September, 1915, and the $2,678,000,000 brought by the loan of March, 1916. It is true that those two German war loans were placed almost within six months of each other, and were followed, seven months later, by another loan subscription almost as large; whereas this is the first funded war loan issued by England since July, 1915. But, on the other hand, the British Government had considerably more than $5,000,000,000 outstanding on short-term bonds and Treasury bills, and the English people have been paying extra war taxes of $1,500,000,000 per annum in the aggregate, as against little or no important addition to the German tax-roll.

The world has grown so used to these stupendous credit operations, during the two-and-a-half past years, that a single borrowing of three thousand million dollars or more no longer excites surprise. To appreciate fully the Brobdingnagian character of these Treasury transactions, one must remember that the largest sum ever raised in a single loan by even the British Government, prior to 1914, was $300,000,000. When the daily cost of war has risen in the present conflict to ten or twenty times what it ever was in previous wars of history, it is no doubt a logical result that the size of borrowings by belligerent Governments should run similarly beyond all precedent. But this does not explain how and where such previously unimaginable sums of money could be obtained. London's largest total subscription to all new securities, in any full year of peace, was little more than one-third the amount subscribed to the present single war loan.

These operations of the past two years, however, are better understood to-day than they were when bankers and economists, though far underrating the probable cost of the war which had just begun, predicted that its end must come before 1916 through actual economic exhaustion. Quite

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aside from the fact that every European belligerent has virtually stopped, for the period of war, the offering in its markets of new securities other than war loans, the manner in which these huge amounts of private wealth have been directed to the Treasury has been evident enough. Resale of American securities on the New York market was one potent source of money for the war loans. The abnormally large profits, brought to certain branches of home production by the war demand and the high war prices, are another.

But in Europe's present case, as in that of our own Civil War, the real backbone of the new supplies of capital placed at the Government's disposal has unquestionably been curtailment of the peace-time expenditure for extension of business activities and for private luxuries. One need only reckon up for one's self how much a given company or individual might save by such a process, in order to understand what total results it would attain, if practiced by a population of forty or fifty millions.

With each successive operation of the kind in the present war, the questions are asked again, how much longer the process can continue on such a scale, and if the period of endurance is limited, then which side in the conflict can hold out longer. On their face, the results of the present English borrowing would indicate nothing of that increasing difficulty of financing the contest which, to some minds, had been suggested by the long delay in putting out another funded loan. Even the fact, much commented on at the time, that last October's German war loan was marked by decrease of 26 per cent. in the number of separate subscriptions proved very little; for the grand total subscribed was but slightly decreased.

The question of relative power of endurance, supposing that resources must some time show impairment, can be judged only by what we knew before regarding the available wealth of the several belligerents. On this basis of judgment, it would be hard to reach any other conclusion than that the Entente Powers would outlast Germany. The accumulated wealth of Great Britain, France, and Italy, before the war, was admittedly vastly in excess of the wealth of Germany and Austria. If the two rich Allies of western Europe have had to use part of their own capital to help out Russia and their weaker colleagues, Germany cannot have been less sorely burdened with providing resources for bankrupt Turkey and for Bulgaria, financially exhausted by her own Balkan war before this present war began.

Public Opinion in Austria

EVER since the outbreak of the war echoes of treason in Bohemia and of discontent in Hungary with Prussian overlordship have reached this country. These reports have of late become more insistent. In the case of Bohemia, the unrest has at last been admitted by the Austrian Government itself through the sentencing of the leader of the Young Czechs, Dr. Kramarz, to fifteen years' imprisonment. The stories of insubordination, if not of downright revolt, among the Czech soldiery have been corroborated from many sources. As for Hungary, we have heard of Count Károlyi, the leader of a branch of the Independence party, strongly urging the need of peace and repudiating all ideas of conquest; and of such influential papers as the *Pesti Hirlap* and the *Pesti Naplo* (once famous as the organ of Francis Deák) ranging themselves on the side of the opposition to Tisza. Finally, there came the cable news of a bitter attack of the *Pesti Naplo* on Count Reventlow and of the Socialist organ, *Népszava*, on Tirpitz, while three members of the Chamber of Deputies were quoted as condemning the present submarine warfare.

Serious doubts of the accuracy of some of these tidings from Hungary have been expressed by one whose opinion in such matters is entitled to great weight. Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson has, in a recent number of the *New Europe*, issued a warning to the British public against the Budapest correspondent of the London *Morning Post*, who, according to him, has in some instances imposed upon that journal by garbled and even forged extracts of speeches in the Diet and articles in Hungarian newspapers. Mr. Seton-Watson has in one or two cases made good his charge by reference to the original sources, but the idea of wholesale deception, practiced undetected for many months, seems entirely untenable. It is, moreover, evident, from direct Budapest reports in the London *Times* and from previous information contained in Budapest journals, that public opinion in Hungary is far from unanimous in upholding the present alliance with Germany.

Any one who has ever been in Hungary knows how hostile to German aspirations the true Magyar has always been. This has expressed itself to an almost ludicrous degree in a complete ban on the German language in the streets of Budapest and elsewhere. The temporary solidarity of the Hapsburg Monarchy and the German Empire may have stifled the outward manifestation of this feeling, but it cannot uproot it. Nor have, in all the years following the Compromise of 1867, the relations between the Magyars and the other nationalities become more cordial. It may be taken as axiomatic that what the Magyar desires the Croat opposes, and if Magyar loyalty to Austria and Germany be unquestioned, that of the Serbo-Croat, who has often lent a willing ear to Pan-Slavic blandishments, may well be doubted. Croatia has never concealed its bitter discontent with Dualism, and Hungarian politicians have fully reciprocated the feeling of the Croats. Recent utterances of the newspapers of Agram and Fiume that occasionally find their way to this country reflect the dissatisfaction of the people with prevailing economic conditions—a feeling which, it may safely be assumed, extends to the political situation as well.

Little has been heard during the war of the once powerful Kossuth party. Its very name has been merged in that of other groups, but that its principles will revive after the war is as certain as that the spell of that famous leader has not forever lost its potency. How will his teachings comport with the new order of things in Hungary if the Pan-Germanists and advocates of a new Central Europe have their way? Can Magyars ever forget his fierce detestation of the Hapsburgs, his glowing admiration for Anglo-Saxons? "It is the Anglo-Saxon race alone," he said, in an address in this country on March 6, 1852, "that stands high and erect in its independence. . . . And inviolability of person and the inviolability of property are English principles. England is the last stronghold of these principles in Europe." And contrast with this his remark about Prussia, on a similar occasion: "What would the petty princes of Germany have been in 1848 without Prussia? And what was Prussia, when her capital was in the

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hands of the people, without the certainty of the Czar's support?"

In the exigencies of the present or the future the disciples alike of Kossuth and of Deák may, it is conceivable, turn to Pan-Germans, or even Pan-Slavists, for the furtherance of political ends, but the antagonism bred in the course of a thousand years will remain. One of the most striking evidences of the strengthening of the Slavic elements in the Hapsburg Monarchy is furnished by the mooted revival of Slovakia as a political entity. Except for a brief period in the tenth century and again early in the fourteenth, the Slovaks of northern Hungary have always been subject to the Magyars, while the Slovaks of Moravia have for a thousand years shared the fate of the Bohemian countries. Now the declaration of the Entente Powers would create a Czecho-Slovakia, to the wonderment and indignation alike of the Germans and Magyars of the monarchy. What one of the leading Czechs thinks of this Greater Bohemia is set forth, forcibly but in the spirit of a special pleader, by Prof. Thomas G. Masaryk, of Prague, now an exile on British soil, in an article in the *New Europe*. He accepts as unquestionably true the accounts of disturbances in Bohemia. "The peculiar passive revolution of Bohemia," he says, "is now known to the whole world, though the Austro-Hungarian and German censors for a long time succeeded in suppressing the facts and in spreading false news about the unity and loyalty of all the Austro-Hungarian nations. Europe now knows what it means when all the leading politicians and writers of Bohemia, and thousands of men and women of all classes, are imprisoned, and many even sentenced to death; when all independent newspapers are suppressed, when the property of thousands is confiscated, when the Czech regiments refuse to fight, and surrender whenever opportunity offers."

To Professor Masaryk the new Czecho-Slovak state is rendered inevitable by the Pan-Germanism of Germany and Austria-Hungary, but he leaves unanswered the question of the fate of the southern Slavs of Cisleithania, such as the Slovenes. When everything has been said, the Hapsburg Monarchy is made up of many elements, in whose very discordance lies a certain guarantee of the continuance of conditions which have defied centuries. Again, as so often before, Austria may disappoint friends and foes. The unexpected is always the most probable in the "land of improbabilities."

Rushing Into Dictatorships

TACITUS etched one period of Roman history by describing it as a time when the people rushed into slavery (*ruere in servitium*). If one could believe some newspapers and some Governors and some members of Legislatures and of Congress, the American people is just now disposed to rush into dictatorships. It is a method suggested for every question that comes up. There seems to be a perfect passion for commandeering. Let the State seize all the food. If anybody is building a ship for a foreign customer, let the Government take it over. Railways have had trouble with cars and fuel and cold weather. Why doesn't the President seize all the lines and run them properly? The motto is, do it first and think about it afterwards. Seize everything at once, and pay for it later—also, we may add, make a worse mess of it later.

But there is neither sense nor safety in these short cuts. We cannot scrap overnight all our established ways of inquiring into the facts before leaping to conclusions. Wellington said that he had spent almost all his life in trying to figure out what lay beyond the hill in front of him. We can't dispense with that habit of mind. If we give instant heed to every hysterical gentleman who comes along with exaggerated fears and with improvised measures to lay them; if we run after the sensational press which flings out its masses of unverified statistics and shrieks for inferences which do not follow, we shall speedily find ourselves rushing down a steep place into the sea.

There have been attempts to throw this country into a panic about its food supplies. The rashest assertions have been made and the rashest remedies proposed. One United States Senator desired to go out and "throttle" those who were conspiring to hold back food from the people. Did he know that there was any such conspiracy? Had he any evidence of a really serious food shortage? It is not a great distance from the Capitol to the offices of the Interstate Commerce Commission; why didn't Senator Norris go over or send over to obtain some faint inkling of the facts before uttering his cries of alarm about "food riots"? Later we had from the Commission the calm and authoritative statement, which ought to make the Senatorial and other panic-mongerers ashamed of themselves:

> No actual food or fuel shortage exists anywhere in this country, and the high prices should not be attributed to the present freight congestion. Reports indicated that all localities are supplied with adequate stocks of living necessities for immediate domestic consumption, and that transportation conditions will improve steadily.

Our point is at present, not that this is to be taken as Gospel truth or as absolutely reassuring, but that the Interstate Commerce Commission is only one of the many instruments we possess to ascertain the facts. And we simply must get a fair grasp of the facts before we plunge into a wild course of action said to be made necessary by them. In New York city we have many official sources of information which are at least more trustworthy than the allegations of a lady anarchist on a self-advertising riot-visit to the City Hall, or the stray gleanings of a yellow reporter set to the job of handling statistics which he no more understood than he would a table of logarithms. We have the Health Department, the Charities Department, the Markets Department, the police inspection, and a great many forms of intelligent charity work. They, too, have been looking into the matter of food and high prices, and what is the net result of their inquiries? Not that the housekeeping problem has not become very serious for many. They find that food costs much and will, apparently, cost more for a time. But anything like threatening starvation? No. Conditions of destitution anything like so grave, and requiring exceptional measures to meet them, as three years ago? No. We are, in plain truth, confronting a state of things in which there are undoubtedly evils and dangers, but these evils and dangers have been immensely exaggerated, and the unsettling thing is that so many people in official place have shown themselves ready to accept all these magnified and excited descriptions as if they were sober fact demanding action of an unprecedented kind.

It may be that these cases of official and general nervous disturbance are partly owing to upsets caused by the war.

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We have seen dictators set up in Germany and England to do this, that, and the other, so why not have a few of our own? Well, what we may be compelled to do if we go to war is one thing; what we ought to do in our present circumstances is quite another. We should begin by keeping our heads, and insisting that our public men keep theirs. We must still maintain that two and two make four; that, if a dollar is worth less, you can't get as much for it; that, if the cost of living rises, so must wages and salaries—as notoriously they have done. But against flying to ills that we know not of we must be resolute. Till the old tools break in our hands, we ought not to throw them away and attempt to use untried inventions. Above all, we should confront with an unbelieving heart and a stony face every impetuous or frightened official who tells us that we should all be perfectly happy if we only had a dictator to make us so.

Is Health Insurance Coming?

WITHIN the past month have appeared two notable reports upon health insurance—those of the special commissions created by California and Massachusetts. The voice from California is unequivocal. Her commission declares, after analyzing many tables concerned with poverty, industry, and health, that the expedient way to deal with the destitution and other evils arising from sickness among low-paid workers is through group responsibility organized under a State Health Insurance act. As many cannot see the advantages of insurance, it must be made compulsory; and as the protection cannot be made dependent on what the workers earn, contributions from other sources are necessary. The Commission therefore declares in favor of insurance funds supported jointly by employer, employee, and State. Of the Massachusetts body, four members assert that "some plan for health insurance should be adopted as an important early step in the interests of social welfare," and characterize a bill now pending as essentially sound. Yet two other members believe that the State should continue its inquiry, and one recommends merely the establishment of maternity benefits. Meanwhile, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce of New York State has been aroused by the Mills bill at Albany to state its opposition to such a measure "at this time," and to suggest several more cautious steps.

The measures that seem to be emerging in this country are a composite built upon the general European experience with compulsory insurance statutes. Undoubtedly, the fact that health-insurance legislation now embraces most highly industrial communities outside the United States will be one of the chief arguments for such legislation here. Yet the differences among the chief European laws are marked. France, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden merely have subsidized voluntary systems of health insurance. In Britain, uniform benefits are paid to all low-wage workers, without regard to the exact rate of wage; but on the Continent, in general, benefits vary from 50 to 75 per cent. of the wages. Medical care and medicines are provided in nearly all countries, and funeral benefits outside Britain and Holland. In Britain a flat rate of benefits is accompanied by a flat rate of contributions to the insurance fund per man insured, but in other countries contributions vary, again, according to wage. In Germany and Austria there are no governmental contributions to the funds, but elsewhere employer, employee, and Government all contribute to the cost of insurance. The first American proposal to attract wide attention has been the "standard" compulsory bill offered by the American Association for Labor Legislation. This, like the Continental measures, varies the benefits and the contributions according to the wage, providing also for medical attendance, child-birth included, and funeral benefits. The standard of illness benefits is set at 66 2-3 per cent. of wages; the Government is to contribute one-fifth the cost, and the employer and employee two-fifths each. The California bill is in almost complete harmony with this "standard" measure, and the Massachusetts measure also seems to follow its general lines.

But that compulsory legislation for health insurance is yet needed here will and should be contested by those who believe in a cautious limitation of the field of State action. It may well be that for this country the experience of Denmark and France will prove more fruitful than that of Germany and England. In France, 4,000,000 persons are insured in the *sociétés de secours mutuels*, and in Denmark nearly one-third the entire population is enrolled in like bodies. It is said that the French figure is small as against the total of 14,000,000 insured in the United Kingdom; but we have seen no assertion that the French Government is dissatisfied with it. The American wage undoubtedly commands a standard of living superior to the European; the individualism of the American worker exceeds the European's; and in this country voluntary health insurance is making steady, and promises to make amazing, progress. Probably no other country has such a development of fraternal insurance. Some large corporations, as the International Harvester Company, Goodyear Rubber Company, and certain railways, have maintained schemes of health insurance for some time, and this industrial insurance is extending fast. There are also the trade-union funds and benefit-society funds. All these represent great possibilities in a potential programme of voluntary insurance, supervised and perhaps subsidized by the State. State legislation could easily standardize the voluntary associations under State insurance departments, and encourage all voluntary group schemes. A helpful supplementary step would be the extension of accident-compensation jurisdiction into the field of occupational diseases. Much more can also be done in the prevention by State action of unhealthful working and living conditions. All the steps short of compulsory health insurance should be carefully considered before it is decided that such insurance is the best method of dealing with present evils.

This careful consideration of the situation should be undertaken in each State, and no State should be too much swayed by another. In some it is possible that compulsory insurance may seem best, while others may continue indefinitely without it. European experience suggests that even if a number ultimately adopted plans for compulsory health insurance, these might vary a good deal. If any "standard" law is ever arrived at, it will probably not be by the study of the legislation of another hemisphere, but by the same process of trial, error, and improvement that has built up a general standard of what a workmen's compensation law should be. California, with her special conditions of health, legislative temper, and social and industrial conditions, may very well attack the problem in a way in which Massachusetts and New York should not.

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The Right of Retaliation

IN an article in the current *Political Science Quarterly*, Prof. Munroe Smith criticises certain views developed by our State Department in its correspondence with the British and German Governments as to the position in international law of the right of retaliation. Inasmuch as we are at this moment on the verge of war with the latter of these Governments on account of action for which vindication must be sought, if at all, in the right of retaliation, it will be seen at once that the subject is one of great practical, as well as theoretical, interest.

In its second Lusitania note our State Department declared that "a belligerent act of retaliation is *per se* beyond the law, and the defence of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal." This assertion Professor Smith characterizes as "quite indefensible," and very justifiably, for the right of a belligerent to resort to retaliatory measures against its enemy when the latter employs illegal methods of warfare is well recognized by all writers on the law of nations.

But, as I take it, the statement just quoted from the note of July 21, 1915, was not altogether intended and went, in fact, much farther than was necessary to support the practical consequences drawn from it. Our Government's real position would seem to have been defined much more accurately in the accompanying assertion that acts of retaliation are "manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights." Indeed, at this point the second Lusitania note only repeats its predecessor, where—to cite again Professor Smith's article—"our State Department refused to admit that measures of retaliation 'operate in any degree as an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters, or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality.'" The essential question raised by our Government's view of the right of retaliation is, therefore, not whether such a right is recognized by the law of nations—which must be granted—but what are the limits of this right, whether it may trench upon the outstanding rights of neutrals.

Professor Smith holds that rights of neutral subjects, both of person and of property, may be legitimately invaded by a belligerent Power in the exercise of its right to retaliate against its foes for their breaches of international law; and while he enters a caveat in behalf of the rights of humanity, yet, in the last analysis, the only recourse he leaves a neutral state aggrieved through the injuries thus inflicted upon its subjects is to challenge particular measures of retaliation as not justified by, or as disproportionate to, the occasion ostensibly calling them forth. Thus he writes:

> Neutral rights are in some degree abridged when they come into collision with belligerent rights. How far they are abridged in any particular case is a question of international law. In international law it is well settled that if a legitimate act of war on the part of a belligerent state, directed primarily against its enemies, inflicts incidental injury upon the persons or property of neutrals, neither those neutrals nor the states to which they owe allegiance have a right to raise protest or demand satisfaction. And since international law authorizes reprisals, a legitimate reprisal is *per se* a legitimate act of war. In order to find any ground for protest, the protesting state must show that the particular reprisal of which it complains is illegitimate.

And farther along he adds: "It is clear, however, that there must be some limits to the exercise of the right of reprisal. I venture to suggest that such limits are found in a comparison between the alleged offence and the attempted reprisal as regards their respective degrees of illegality and of inhumanity." With these views I cannot agree, nor do I think that they have the support of international law to the extent that Professor Smith apparently believes.

In the first place, it seems a most anomalous proceeding to force a neutral state to pass judgment upon the relative justifiability of the acts of two warring states as preliminary to demanding its own rights, even assuming the neutral state to be in a position to do so intelligently. For instance, which party to the present war first afforded the other party a legitimate occasion for retaliation? Probably the Government at Washington does not know, and if it did know it would not care to say. And as to the question of the relative severity or illegality of the offences of one belligerent and the acts of retaliation of the other, like considerations would again block the neutral's way to an effective protest in assertion of its rights. Thus take the case suggested by Professor Smith when he writes of the German "war zone" proclamation of February, 1915: "The taking of life is no proper retaliation for the taking of goods." The test here suggested was quite warrantably adopted by our State Department in determining the relative urgency of two classes of claims by *its own citizens* for its protection; but I do not gather that our Government has meant at any time to pass upon the question of the relative illegality or inhumanity of German submarine warfare and that of the British embargo, either in the abstract or from the point of view of their effect on the rights of the two belligerents. And it seems to me obvious that it ought not to be compelled to do so as a first step towards securing American rights.

More fundamental, however, is the criticism evoked by Professor Smith's major premise, his proposition that "if a legitimate act of war on the part of a belligerent state, directed primarily against its enemies, inflicts incidental injury upon the persons or property of neutrals, neither those neutrals" nor their Governments have a right to protest. Thus, suppose we assume, by way of argument, that the phrase "incidental injury" in the passage just quoted means, in colloquial phrase, *accidental injury*. The above proposition would then be fairly innocuous from the point of view of neutral rights, but even so it would not be a tenable one as to all those rights. For there are certain rights at international law, as at common law, which cannot be trespassed upon with impunity even "accidentally." So, if in ejecting an intruder from my own premises I toss him into a neighbor's flower garden, I render myself liable for the actual damage done, however inadvertent it was on my part. Likewise, if belligerent forces waging war along the frontiers of a neutral state should harm neutral persons and property across the line, their Governments would, I should suppose, be liable therefor, and of course such forces must not invade neutral soil on any account.

It is clear, however, that the term "incidental injury," as used by Professor Smith, means much more than "acci-

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dental" injury. It means *injury which is the necessary and foreseen concomitant of an act of belligerency, albeit not furnishing such act with its primary purpose nor inflicted with hostile motive;* it means, if we are to judge from the operation of either the British embargo or German submarine warfare upon neutral rights, *the very method and instrumentality whereby injury is inflicted by one belligerent upon the other.* Their supposed incidental quality becomes as capacious an apology for belligerent trespasses upon neutral rights as *Kriegs-raison* itself!

A proposition leading to such sweeping results seems questionable; besides which its applicability to the right of retaliation may be challenged on independent grounds. One should not be misled in this connection by the fact that a belligerent is permitted to impose certain restraints upon neutral overseas traffic with the enemy. The measures of this character which a belligerent may take are carefully defined by international law, and his right to take them is given in return for a relaxation of the diligence which would be otherwise due from neutral governments in preventing activities by their subjects to the service of the enemy.

The really applicable parallel is that between the right of retaliation and the cognate right of states in time of peace to resort to reprisals "for violations of law or international delinquencies," in other words, the right of self-help. This latter right is clearly regarded by the authorities as limited by the rights of third parties. A form of it which has attracted considerable attention in recent years is the "pacific blockade." At first it was denied that a blockade could be instituted except as an incident of war. To-day, however, the "pacific blockade" is generally recognized as a method of coercion short of war, and, in certain cases, a very useful device. But it is also recognized that the pressure thus brought to bear by one state upon another cannot be extended, even incidentally, to the subjects of third Powers, that the measures of blockade cannot be extended to the shipping of nations not parties to the quarrel. This understanding of the matter was registered by the Institute of International Law in 1887, and it is reiterated by all recent writers (Moore's *Digest*, VII, pp. 141-2; Hershey, pp. 345-6; Lawrence, pp. 342-3).

Is there, then, any good reason why war reprisals should receive a broader scope in relation to the rights of third parties than measures of self-help in time of peace? I have found no discussion in the usual authorities bearing directly upon the question, but for a reason which, I think, is very significant. *The entire discussion of these writers is confined to instances of retaliation in no way involving neutral rights;* and certainly, if they had supposed that the belligerent right in this field overshadowed neutral rights, they would not have failed to notice the fact; nor could they have missed the paradox that would result from subordinating to the belligerent's right of retaliation rights carefully safeguarded against all other rights of war.

And the inference to be drawn from the silence of authorities is fairly confirmed by the caution of a recent utterance of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council touching this very subject. I refer to a passing comment in the Committee's recent decision in the Zamora case upon Lord Stowell's decision in the case of the Fox:

> The actual decision in this case was to the effect that there was nothing inconsistent with the law of nations in certain Orders in Council made by way of reprisals for the Berlin and Milan Decrees, though if there had been no case for reprisals, the orders would not have been justified by international law. The decision proceeded upon the principle that where there is just cause for retaliation, neutrals may by the law of nations be required to submit to *inconvenience from the acts of a belligerent Power greater in degree* than would be justified had no cause for retaliation arisen, a principle which had been already laid down in the Lucy.

As between a claim of right to cause inconvenience, some degree greater than usual, and a claim of right to override neutral rights of person and property generally, there would seem to be a considerable gap. But even if there were not, the standards defined by courts of belligerents in the Napoleonic wars are hardly adequate to measure neutral rights to-day. It is, therefore, a significant fact that the British Government, which originally justified its embargo upon neutral trade with Germany as an act of retaliation, has since come to defend it as an allowable extension of the belligerent right of blockade.

I conclude, in short, that the belligerent right of retaliation is, as a general proposition, limited by and subordinate to neutral rights. No doubt a neutral may, by its own derelictions, furnish justifiable occasion for reprisals by a disadvantaged belligerent. But such measures would have to be defended for what they were, not as incidental to reprisals directed against the enemy Power.

EDWARD S. CORWIN

Argentina's Attitude to the War

THE "Great Conflagration in Europe," as the war is often designated by Argentina's newspapers, is the chief topic of conversation in Buenos Aires. The sympathies of the Argentine people vary, depending upon their ancestry, their interests, and their affiliations. Many residents of Argentina have forsaken their homes to enlist under the banner of England or her allies. In some cases these recruits were adventurers; in many cases they were Englishmen, or descendants of Englishmen; in other cases they were Argentine citizens who had married daughters of subjects of the Allied nations. I saw an enthusiastic young citizen of Argentina, the husband of an aged Belgian's daughter, embark for Havre to serve under Albert I. Thousands of recruits for the Allies have crossed the Atlantic since August 1, 1914. There is no doubt that only the influence of the sea-power has prevented a host of reservists from returning to the Old World to fight under the banners of the Emperor and the Kaiser.

The leaders of the metropolitan press, *La Nación* and *La Prensa*, favor the Allies, and partly on that account, shortly after the outbreak of the war certain German residents of Buenos Aires founded a daily newspaper, *La Unión*, which has since served as an organ of the Teutonic cause in southern South America. Aside from the editorials in that newspaper, it is almost impossible to find in the intellectual centre of South America any published expressions of sympathy for the German cause. Argentine citizens are drawn to England by ties of commerce or of kinship; they sympathize with Italy's ambition to redeem the northern Adriatic; they resent the violation of Belgium's neutrality. But, above all, it is for *la belle France*—so wantonly attacked—

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that their hearts bleed. In somewhat extravagant words an Argentine writer recently declared: "In our literary circles, in our artistic coteries, in the scientific academies of the universities, and in the mansions of the aristocracy, France is revered as was Athens in the age of Pericles."

In a sympathetic spirit a number of well-known Argentine literary men have published opinions favorable to the Allies. The most influential prose writer to take up the pen in that cause is Dr. Francisco A. Barroetaveña, a lawyer and publicist, described in poetic phrase as "a youth of seventy years." Beginning on August 3, 1914, he contributed to *El Diario* a series of articles concerning certain problems of the war: "The Dream of the Kaiser," "The Crime of This War," "The Attack Upon Belgium," "Germany and Sparta," "France and Athens," "The German Peril." In the first-mentioned article he declared that the war-horse of the Kaiser would "never drink of the waters of the Indus! He will not be able to seat a son upon every throne of the European monarchies!" In February, 1915, Barroetaveña announced his intention of publishing those articles in a volume entitled "Alemania contra el Mundo." This book soon passed through three editions; a fourth edition of ten thousand copies has recently made its appearance in the book-stalls.

A vivid illustration of the sentiment of Argentine thinkers was furnished in a booklet entitled "Preuves de sympathies Sud-Américaines envers la noble Belgique pour l'anniversaire de l'avènement au trone de son premier Roi, Sa Majesté Léopold I." This booklet—proceeds from the sale of which were given to the Belgian Red Cross—contained facsimiles of the signatures of many South American literary men. Among the signatories were Almafuerte, Barroetaveña, Carlos Guido y Spano, the venerable Argentine poet; José Enrique Rodo, the well-known Uruguayan writer; Ricardo Rojas, the editor of a scholarly reprint of Argentine classics; Paul Groussac, the erudite director of the Biblioteca Nacional; José J. Biedma, director of the National Archives; Jorge Mitre, director of *La Nación;* Ezequiel Paz, director of *La Prensa;* Luis M. Drago, author of the Doctrine which bears his name, and Ruy Barbosa, the Brazilian publicist. Some time afterwards, certain intellectual leaders of Buenos Aires held a meeting at a private residence and signed their names in albums which were addressed to the Institut Français and to the extinct Library of Louvain. On the dedicatory page of each album, these men paid tribute to the Allied nations: to Belgium, "the martyred, heroic, and undone nation"; to "the soul of France, the redeemer"; to "a victorious young Italy," struggling towards "her final integrity"; to the British people, "the guardians of liberty"; to Russia, "gigantic and generous," and to Servia, "dismantled and wounded"—nations which had united to substitute for the aphorism "that force is the first right" the other motto that "justice and respect for man have conquered and will ever conquer. . . . Later, in the eloquent silence of the bone-strewn fields, nature will bestow her pious offerings of flowers; the sun his light, and man his reverence. Future generations will make pilgrimages there, and will read, in the epitaphs of the fallen, their heroism, their tenacity, and their love of good."

The most notable literary production evoked in South America by the great war is a poem addressed to the Kaiser by "Almafuerte." From the city of La Plata, Pedro B. Palacios—for that is the poet's real name—sent into the world his *Apóstrofe* to the Kaiser. In that Apostrophe Almafuerte characterized the Kaiser as "the dictator of a meek people," a "crowned assassin," whose hands were imbued with "the blood of millions of innocents, the putative descendant of the monarch of the Huns . . . an invader indifferent to the beautiful, the sacred, the defenceless, the destroyer of magnificent cathedrals and colleges . . . and cities." The Kaiser was stigmatized as "the assassin of Miss Cavell . . ." "an imperial infanticide," "a Herod-king," "the enormous ogre of Belgian children," " a corrupter of the conscience of men," "Mephistopheles," "anti-Christ."

No; la Historia es un momento, una mísera palabra,—
una mísera palabra que resuena altisonante. . . .
Para tí, para la serie
larga y negra de tus crímenes horrendos,
cien millones, mil millones de centurias
son un soplo.

Te reclamen los archivos de lo eterno;
vida eterna, fuego eterno, llanto eterno,
sin Plutarcos.

Sin siquera la sonrisa de Cain el fratricida:
dolor pleno, dolor sumo, dolor puro
por los siglos de los siglos;
y en aquella angustia eterna,
tú y Satán.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

Buenos Aires, January 6

The New Leader of the House of Commons

NEXT to the supreme autocracy of Mr. Lloyd George the advancement of Mr. Law to the leadership of the House is the most striking feature of the session of the Long Parliament of the twentieth century which opened to-day. Fifteen years ago, Mr. Balfour's Administration, sorely lacking in debating power, was recruited by the admission of Mr. Law to a minor place among the Under-Secretaries grouped at the lower end of the Treasury bench. This concession made, he was constrained to know and keep his proper place. When, on the reconstruction of the Ministry foreboding the fall to which it was hastening, a vacancy occurred at the Treasury, there were some who, recognizing Mr. Law's unobtrusive but sterling merit, looked to him to fill it. Mr. Chamberlain, however, decreed otherwise. Resuming himself the position of private member, the better to preach his evangel of protection, he stipulated that his son should be raised to Cabinet rank with possession of the keys of the Treasury and the direction of national finance. Mr. Law was, accordingly, left undisturbed in the obscurity of minor office at the Board of Trade, under the Presidency of the Premier's brother, Gerald Balfour.

It was the retirement of Mr. Arthur Balfour from the Leadership of the Unionist party in the House of Commons, a step forced by the action of a noisy group above the Gangway, which unexpectedly brought Mr. Bonar Law to the front. The rival candidatures of Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Austen Chamberlain for the vacated post, if persisted in, threatened the party with fatal disruption. As occasionally happens in Presidential nominations, a third candidate, one safe rather than brilliant, was sought, a man of level quali-

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ties non-irritant to personal prejudice. He was found at hand in the unassuming ex-Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, who, to the surprise of politicians, not least to his own, was unanimously elected to fill the post long brilliantly held by Arthur Balfour. In the ordinary course of events, a man chosen at such a crisis to lead the party in opposition might reasonably look forward to holding his place in the sunshine of victory at the poll when it burst, lighting his pathway to the Premiership. There was to be no nonsense of that kind about Bonar Law. He would be well satisfied to see bestowed upon him the honor of helping his party over an awkward stile. When in due course it found itself reinstated in power he was the sort of man who would quietly step aside, leaving the leadership and the contingent Premiership to the nephew of a marquis or the son of an earl. That line of thought was natural enough six years ago. Its accuracy is not quite so assured to-day.

In the brief course of his Premiership, Mr. Lloyd George has introduced several revolutionary procedures in the distribution of offices in the administration of public affairs. One equally daring and well-conceived is the devolution by the Prime Minister of the duties of leadership of the House. In ordinary times attempt to combine their discharge with the work that falls on the shoulders of the Prime Minister leads to failure fatal to the conduct of public affairs. For more than two years Mr. Asquith gallantly strove with the endeavor and was beaten in the end. Towards the close of last session the House grew familiar with the spectacle of the Premier hurriedly called away from imperial tasks performed in his room behind the Speaker's chair, to unravel a tangle into which, during his temporary absence from the Treasury Bench, Government work had been enmeshed. The leadership of the House of Commons is a task of itself sufficiently onerous and pressing to engage the whole time and energy of the ablest of men. Mr. Bonar Law's training in the school of opposition has admirably served as preparation for the more responsible task now undertaken. Uncertain of himself, unsupported by an enthusiastic following, he did not begin with perfect success. He obviously stood in something of awe of the group of malcontents alluded to who had driven out of office one greater than himself. In his attitude towards the Treasury Bench he assumed the virtue of implacable aggressiveness, though he had it not. More than once he recalled the threat of the harried "Private Secretary" who warned his tormentors that if they didn't look out he would "give them a good hard knock."

Thus he admonished Right Hon. gentlemen on the Treasury bench that they must not expect any tenderness of treatment from him. With fuller confidence in himself and growing support from all parts of the House, he abandoned this attitude, gradually but steadily rising to the level of the dignity and authority of leader of the Opposition. In the short time following on the reconstruction of the Ministry which led to his assumption of leadership of the House, this development has quickened. Meanwhile the Prime Minister, unfettered by official Parliamentary duties, is left to wrestle with the stupendous task imposed upon him since war began.

HENRY LUCY

Westminster, February 7

War Lyrics and Others

Harvest Moon. By Josephine Preston Peabody. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.25 net.

What Is Your Legion? By Grace Fallow Norton. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 25 cents net.

Songs of Armageddon and Other Poems. By George Sylvester Viereck. New York: Mitchell Kennerley. $1 net.

Ballads of Battle. By Lance-Corporal Joseph Lee, 1st/4th Battalion Black Watch. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25 net.

Poems of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood. Thomas MacDonagh, P. H. Pearse, Joseph Mary Plunkett, Sir Roger Casement. Edited by Padraic Colum and Edward J. O'Brien. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 50 cents net.

The Harvesting, and Other Poems. By W. Fothergill Robinson. London: Erskine Macdonald.

Patriotic Poetry Greek and English. By W. Rhys Roberts. London: John Murray. 3s. 6d. net.

War and Laughter. By James Oppenheim. New York: The Century Company. $1.25 net.

THE exquisite patience and high sedulity of Mrs. Marks's "Harvest Moon" deserve to be called "fine" in the old uncheapened sense of that once expressive word. One imagines a folded and hidden richness, as of "blanched linen, smooth and lavender'd," a fragrant privacy, a dedicated repose. The delicate remoteness of Mrs. Marks's approach is a support—not a detriment—to her war poems. Disaster on a national or mundane scale is unfavorable to the evocation of pathos or consternation by literary art. The wary artist knows that stimulants are potentially narcotics, that pity and terror may be deadened—because deafened—by the very breadth and multitude of the claims upon their regard. The hope of poetry is always the individual case, and, where suffering is massed and cohesive, the insulation which gives effect to individuality is difficult to achieve. In the enclosure, the retreat, of her hovering dialogue or transmuting parable, Mrs. Marks's pathos finds seclusion and defence from the cloying abundance, the encroaching and engulfing fulness of the surrounding wretchedness and horror. She is nowhere else so strong as in that high requiem, not for human life, but for human nature, "Men Have Wings At Last," where the loftiest of man's aspirations and regrets find an outlet through the jaws of wolves and the beaks of vultures.

> Wings, to seek his more-and-more,
> Where we knew us blind;
> Wings, to make him conqueror
> With his master-mind;
> Wings that he outwatch, outsoar
> Eagle and his kind!
>
> Lo, the dream fulfilled at last! And the dread outgrown,
> Broken, as a bird's heart; fallen as a stone.
> What was he, to make afraid?—
> Hating all that he had made,
> Hating all his own!
>
> Scatter to your strongholds, till the race is run.
> (Doe and fawn together so, soon will it be done.)
> Never now, never now, ship without a mast,

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In the harbor of the sun, do you make fast!
But the floods shall cleanse again
Every blackened trail of men,
Men with wings, at last!

Mrs. Marks is often less happy. "Cradle Song," for instance, is a poem whose perfections cannot veil its mignardise, a self-enfolded, self-caressing poem in which motherhood is subsidiary to art. She shares with the moderns the discovery that clearness is a bourgeois, almost a plebeian, virtue, which a few years hence will be surrendered to the illiterate. Again, the reader sometimes feels that she has delivered her message, like Browning's riders in the Ghent and Ratisbon poems, at the cost, or all but the cost, of her life; we are impelled at the same moment to cry "Hurrah," and to pour down her throat our last measure of wine. But if we thought at the moment of "Men Have Wings at Last," the outpour would become, not cordial, but libation.

Miss Norton, in verse more outspoken and less rhythmic than her wont, pleads with America to speak out in behalf of trampled Belgium. "O what has your iron demanded of your soul? Wealth, arrogance of caste, submission, silence, the unbroken rule—do these grow dearer to you than speech and growth and change and the willingness, when the dividing hour and the demanding moment come, to break the law and cast it back within the furnace and melt and hammer it out anew? . . . Daily you choose, saying you choose not! Daily you choose, and by your silence you choose—Germany! The prayer of Belgium goes unanswered."

A poet's office is to pierce, not to envelop: and Miss Norton's plea is possibly none the worse for that halfness of view which somehow conduces to wholeness of vision; we should pity a nation whose poets were statesmen only less than one whose statesmen were poets.

I have no love for the verses of Mr. George Viereck, but I am the more bound to confess that they are not pedestrian, but equestrian rather in their ring and onset, that their clashing, cymbal-like rhetoric is not always ineffective, and that from time to time a subtler aroma is distilled out of phrases like "Though your large hands be full of the strange gifts of life, the kiss and the worm and the rose." I find him morbid and savage in his war lyrics, and the rediscovery of the same fierce incontinence in his love poems sweeps away my fear that the former judgment might be only the reflex of my own deep distrust and disapproval of contemporary Germany. The man who thus addresses a woman: "God damn your hair" and "God damn your breasts," may talk about "the scarlet band of England's strumpet, Italy," without giving either of those nations occasion to blush or to tremble.

Lance-Corporal Joseph Lee is master of a strong native gift, to which the reading of contemporary literature has offered a spur and denied a bridle. His rhythm is sometimes dissonant; his grammar sometimes asks a furlough; and his poems are lax and spreading to a degree not praiseworthy in a soldier with whom marksmanship should be the chief of virtues. But his hand—which wields pencil as well as pen—can vivify and actualize war with a skill which the following from "MacFarlane's Dug-Out" will amply demonstrate:

He shored it up with timber, and he roofed it in with tin
Torn from the battered boxes that they bring the biscuits in—
(He even used the biscuits, but he begs I should not state
The number that he took for tiles, the number that he ate!)—
He shaped it, and secured it to withstand the tempest's shocks
(I know he stopped one crevice with the latest gift of socks!)—
He trimmed it with his trenching-tool, and slapped it with his spade—
A marvel was the dug-out that MacFarlane made.

This is perfect writing of its kind; its kind may be dug-out, but as dug-out it is unsurpassable. One turns with some alarm to Mr. Lee's more ambitious poems, for the rude gift in the dainty task sometimes reminds one of the trooper bivouacking in the château. Yet even here Mr. Lee's imagination almost indemnifies us for his unripe taste and faltering art. A few touches more or less would have made "The Green Grass" unforgettable, and a stirring and stinging psychology makes itself powerfully felt in the uncertain diction and rhythm of the surprising "Combat." Mr. Lee's promise makes us wish that bullets could discriminate.

The four Irish Revolutionists whose death taught us how the fears of an empire may overcome its generosity are revealed in Mr. Colum's sympathetic preface no less than in their own palpitant and coruscating lyrics as men of exalted spirit and artistic capacity. The poems are markedly Celtic; they yearn and kneel, they croon and brood, and out of this haunting, whispering twilight emerge moments of electrifying revelation. Joseph Plunkett begins a sonnet thus:

When all the stars become a memory
Hid in the heart of Heaven,

and closes it in this key:

When God's loosed might the prophet's word fulfils,
My songs shall see the ruin of the hills,
My songs shall sing the dirges of the stars.

Sir Roger Casement, in a syntax as warped as if his revolt against the Government of England included its language, shows a curious detached vividness, an aquiline and beetling quality, which abounds in the suggestion of originality and power.

The verses in the mass show the Celtic incompetence in the organizing function. The strong phrases or moments impress us as isolated effects, heroic outposts, as it were, on some scattered and precarious line of defence, shut off from victory, though not from honor, by defects in communication and support.

The delicate but far from unmanly idealism of English academic life in war-time is made genuinely attractive in Mr. Robinson's "Harvesting," in the preface to that volume supplied by Selwyn Image, and in the essay on "Patriotic Poetry Greek and English" by Mr. Roberts. The grace and tenderness of Mr. Robinson's verses are unmistakable, and a certain tenuity or evanescence in the final impression may be associated with the fact that the poems themselves do not so much conclude as vanish. They woo us, however, in the very act of evading us, and "Under a Cherry Tree," with its Elizabethan motto, "Cherry ripe," is a song that the age of Shakespeare might have fledged.

The manhood of Homer is redemonstrated in the reversion of Britons to the Iliad for counsel and incentive in an hour when the exotic and the luxurious are peremptorily rejected from their life. Mr. Roberts's scholarly and mellow essay, in which Shakespeare is the mediator between Homer and the Somme, is happy in its combination of warlike fervor with the foresight of eventual moderation, "a

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spirit of human kindliness towards a maddened enemy and of hope for a better mind and heart in all men."

Mr. Oppenheim's "War and Laughter" is neither so fulgurant nor so jubilant as its stentorian title might suggest. In salubrity, if not in power, it far excels his "Songs for the New Age." I find indeed points to question in Mr. Oppenheim's all-receiving and all-condoning philosophy. His idea is apparently to nourish the entire man, to set down the lusts and aspirations at a common board, and to serve them with regal lavishness and judicial impartiality. I concede the witchery of this suggestion; it savors of Elysium—and Utopia. The experiment is hardly novel, and the historic difficulty has been to insure to the aspirations a full meal in the presence of the grasping and insatiate lusts. This is the problem for most of us; for Mr. Oppenheim there are no perplexities.

He loves the grandiose and the multitudinous; he cultivates the primal, to which the chaotic is historically affined. I will not presume to counsel Mr. Oppenheim; let me refer him to another adviser for whom his respect is indubitable. In one of the fine phrases with which the vague pomp of his rhetoric is sparsely punctuated, he calls man "the sensitive tip of the world." That is strong and true. Man is the world's acme, because in him the universe narrows, tapers, runs into a point. Could not Mr. Oppenheim learn from his own pregnant words, learn from the arrow and the rifle, learn even from the stylus and the pen, that the little, not the big, end of things is the seat of effectiveness and power? Mr. Oppenheim's own verse "lies at random, carelessly diffused," like the Samson whom Milton pictured in his hour of inglorious apathy, and almost the best poem in the collection is the exceptionally terse "Love sings that he is deathless—then dies." Its rival for the palm is the scarcely less laconic "Future."

O. W. Firkins

Correspondence

"NOT ONLY PRO-ENGLISH, BUT ENGLISH"

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Please take my name off your list of subscribers. It is with regret that I sever my connection with so able a journal as yours, which I have taken for some years and have read ever since I was in college. I particularly like your literary and academic features. But it seems to me that you no longer represent an American point of view. You are not only pro-English, but English. I take one English weekly, and I prefer an American journal as a contrast. I suppose you will think me "criminally insane" when I say that I do not see the German blockade in the same light that you do. Germany is hard pressed and suffering herself, and there is very little difference in her blockade of England and England's blockade of her. Drowning a few thousand non-combatants is no more inhumane than trying to starve a hundred million non-combatants. I am not pro-German, but an American of Colonial descent, without ties of blood or marriage to Germany, but I have read history, at least sufficiently to know that in the past all nations have been nearly equally the aggressors and the sufferers. I assure you the London *Nation* has a fairer appreciation of the German point of view than you show. But what I chiefly dislike is the intemperance and insobriety of your language. It is strange that you did not notice the contrast between the two parts of your leading editorial of February 8 (p. 150). In the latter half you commend President Wilson's good temper and dignity in his note referring to Germany, and in the first half of the same article you inveigh against that country in a Catilinarian style. I do not suppose you will care for my criticism, but I am merely explaining why, to my regret, I cannot take your very able paper any longer. Preserved Smith

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., February 14

TIME TO REFLECT

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is evident enough that the introduction of compulsory universal military training would amount to a sharp break with the characteristic practice of this country. Even if one is not a confirmed *laudator temporis acti*, this fact must induce reflection before one makes up one's mind. The idea of seizing the occasion of popular uneasiness and indecision, or even of fear and excitement, to sweep a programme through on an irresistible rhythm of clamor is the last thing that should be tolerated. If this step is not one to be deliberated upon, then there are no steps worthy of deliberation, and we might as well admit that popular government is no government.

People ought to think about this matter; and one of the things they ought to think about is whether there is any way to get out of it, in case it is found undesirable. You cannot get out of such situations as you can leave a room. It is plainly incautious to go in if there is no exit provided for. Universal military service (conceivably) may or may not be what we want, but the most crying need in the face of a serious situation is Cæsar's old *tempus ad deliberandum*. I believe there is time for that—in fact, that it is the only thing there is time for. There is no objection to cleaning up and improving what we already have; or strengthening the "first line of defence." But it is too late now to introduce a wholly new system and have it amount to much of anything during the probable period of the present conflict. As I understand it, even the most optimistic experts do not expect that. Least of all is it likely that the time needed to find out just how the country views this matter will make any difference—unless the advocates of universal service are afraid that the country will "think wrong"; and if that is the case, then what they are really after is a change in our theory of government. That proposal is doubtless debatable, but it ought not to be rushed.

The literature of several European nations has often in the past revealed envy of our isolation and consequent exemption from military burdens. And actions have spoken louder than letters, for not a few of our newer fellow-countrymen have fled over here to avoid precisely what we are talking of introducing. European writers have envied, with no expressed contempt, the country with the diminutive army and with the young men free to enter and pursue their careers undistraught. No doubt our once beneficent isolation is broken forever; but it is not the part of discernment to reject incontinently that on account of which we have been objects of envy.

The war and its outcome will teach needed lessons of many kinds. Presumably even those who are now hottest for immediate action would agree to take time to reflect if

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they thought there was time—otherwise they would stultify themselves. But, I repeat, what can we do with a new and revolutionary system within the duration of the war, unless it is to last for years? Is it not better to improve what we have in every possible way, and meanwhile settle down to learn the lessons of the time, not to mention of history? No such cataclysm as this war ever leaves the world just as it found it. It may be that the post-bellum situation will demand adjustments quite different from those that now appear so inevitable and indispensable to their advocates. FESTINA LENTE

New Haven, Conn., February 20

AMERICAN CAPITAL FOR ITALY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a constant reader of your paper, and especially of your articles on financial matters, I should like to ask how it is that American capitalists have not more fully considered the Italian market, which offers now so large and profitable a field for a good and satisfactory business.

I believe that several agents were last year sent over to Rome, Milan, and Genoa, but nothing came from their visit, so far as I can ascertain, and Italians are now convinced that no financial arrangements can be made with American capital, notwithstanding the fact that at the beginning of 1916 it was announced that these would have been made and that American bankers entertained willingly any proposals for taking part in the development of industries in this country.

I am under the impression that the representatives sent out either were not fully acquainted with the language and with Italian trade and customs, or else did not go to the proper headquarters, and fell into the hands of an inferior class of people who proposed businesses which on examination were found to be unsafe and unsatisfactory.

In Italy the requirements are: First, all the goods which in the past were supplied by the German manufacturers. For these a list is already published by the Italian Custom House. Secondly, capital is required for developing industrial plants already doing well—for public works, such as new railway lines, ports, and shipbuilding; for draining swampy grounds, of which there are large tracts to be turned into good cultivable land for increasing production of wheat. Last, but not least, capital is required for the numerous and powerful waterfalls, running down from the Alps and Apennines, which would give the country a large and important hydraulic power.

Something has already been done on these several lines, but I believe that American capital might be invested to great advantage here when the war is over.

CHARLES MACNEVIN,
Secretary General of the Anglo-American Stores, Ltd.

Florence, January 2

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S ESTIMATE OF GERMANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your readers may be interested in the following citation from the pen of Benjamin Franklin (see "The Writings of Benjamin Franklin," collected and edited with a Life and Introduction by Albert Henry Smyth, Volume III, the Macmillan Company, 1905):

"I am perfectly of your Mind, that Measures of great Temper are necessary with the Germans; and am not without Apprehensions, that, through their Indiscretion, or ours, or both, great Disorders may one day arise among us. Those who come hither are generally of the most ignorant stupid sort of their own Nation, and, as Ignorance is often attended with Credulity when Knavery would mislead it, and with Suspicion when Honesty would set it right; and as few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the Press or Pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any Prejudices they may entertain. Their own Clergy have very little Influence over their people, who seem to take an uncommon Pleasure in abusing and discharging the Minister on every trivial Occasion. Not being used to Liberty, they know not how to make a modest Use of it. And as Kolben in his History says of the young Hottentots, that they are not esteemed Men until they have shown their Manhood by beating their Mothers, so these seem not to think themselves Free, till they can feel their Liberty in abusing and insulting their Teachers."

RAYMOND WEEKS

Columbia University, February 10

BOOKS

One Recipe for War

Economic Protectionism. By Josef Grunzel. New York: Oxford University Press.

THIS volume is the first published by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Professor Clark, director of the division, introduces it with a preface in which it is explained that a considerable number of monographs are in course of preparation, under the editorship or guidance of a large committee. Neither the committee, however, nor Professor Clark himself vouches for anything more than that the book contains facts and opinions deserving attention. As befits the publication of an institution profusely endowed, the book is issued in sumptuous form—excellent paper, large clear type, generous margin, tasteful binding. The translation is satisfactory; occasionally there is an awkward or obscure phrase, not improbably due to awkwardness or obscurity in the original. So far as concerns externals, everything is commendable.

The book covers a much wider range of topics than is ordinarily covered in books on the protective question. Not duties upon imports alone are considered, but also the regulation and manipulation of railway rates for the purpose of affording protection, and administrative measures which, though nominally for hygienic and sanitary purposes, in reality are designed to impede importation. Export duties naturally receive attention; and further, the import and export of capital, and immigration and emigration. All these topics are treated in a fashion which purports to be systematic, there being chapters upon negative and positive measures for commodities, negative and positive measures for capital, and negative and positive measures for labor. And a similar formal arrangement appears with regard to the effects of protection, there being chapters on commodity protection, on capital protection, on labor protection, and finally on protectionism in general.

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After the German fashion, there is abundance of definition and of preliminary statement, in which one finds that elaboration of the obvious frequent in the publications of German professors. It is thought necessary to inform the reader, for example, that foreign travel affects chiefly the countries that have special attractions in the way of beautiful landscape, historical monuments, climatic advantages, healing springs, and the like. A better side of the book is that it abounds in compact summaries and statistical statements, all of which seem to be carefully put together. There are compendious figures on the growth of international trade, on per capita imports and exports, on the volume of international investments, on immigration and emigration, on the extent of seasonal migration, on tourist expenditures, and so on. There is much information also upon some subjects not easily followed except by persons conversant with administrative machinery. We get sidelights, some of them entertaining, upon the mode in which railway rates are manipulated on the Continent in such a way as to evade those provisions in commercial treaties which are designed to secure the same transportation rates for foreign commodities as for domestic. It appears that the ingenious administrative mind finds it entirely feasible to bring about, notwithstanding these provisions, substantial discrimination in favor of domestic goods. Similarly it is frankly admitted that the administration of health measures, most conspicuously those designed to prevent the spread of infectious diseases among cattle, serves to add to the protection of the domestic producers.

Professor Grunzel's academic title is derived—so one infers from the note about him in the German "Who's Who," for nothing is said in the volume under review—from his connection with the "Export Akademie" at Vienna. His chief field of activity, however, seems to be in the Austrian Ministry of Commerce, as adviser and administrator; and this accounts for the fulness of his information upon such concrete matters as were just referred to. No doubt it serves also to account for the general character of the present performance. The book is not such as would come from a scholar or from any one having capacity for intellectual discrimination. It is frankly, almost naïvely, protectionist; indeed, exhibits protectionism in its vulgar form. The verdict, alas, must be that it is full of superficialities, question-begging phrases, muddy reasoning. The familiar talk—"markets," "opportunities for labor," "defence of national interests"—all these commonplaces and superficialities appear after the fashion of the man on the street. Perhaps the volume is appropriately selected for publication in the Peace series, because typical of the protectionist movement; but it cannot properly be regarded as anything but a commonplace presentation of the ordinary run of protectionist fallacies.

True, there is a show of a scientific analysis. Three sets of theories that aim to justify protection are enumerated: (1) the "developmental," virtually the argument for protection to young industries; (2) the "compensatory," under which head one finds lumped together, as if belonging in the same class, compensations or offsets for all sorts of things, such as foreign export bounties, differences in wages, differences in cost of production, retaliatory duties; and (3) the "defensive" or "national" theory. Grunzel affects to adopt the last named; at all events, he finds much to criticise in the first two. But in the course of his later exposition considerations of all three sorts find their place. There is no consistent holding to any systematic train of reasoning. Neo-mercantilism, so-called, is rampant. It differs in no essentials from the old-fashioned brand of mercantilism. Imports portend evil, and exports are always to be furthered. A country gains if it prevents goods from coming in, and gains if it succeeds in disposing of its goods to foreigners. Sell, sell, sell; but beware of buying! And with this go all sorts of curious minor manifestations of the naïve mercantilist point of view. High wages are unwelcome; they increase your costs. Thus, to give one example among many, tourists' travel is advantageous for the country to which the tourists go, because of an increase in its "consuming power." The following passage may be regarded as typical:

> The tourist traffic is justly regarded as an important source of income for a country, yet the undesirable secondary effects which may also follow under some circumstances from a large influx of foreigners must not be overlooked. The higher standard of living of the foreigners may bring about a rise in the cost of the means of life and of labour power, which may cause an increase in the costs of production in the region affected, and so a curtailment of its competitive efficiency.

All this is melancholy as an indication of the way in which the problems of international trade are handled by persons of academic and official position. It is more melancholy, however, in its bearing upon the larger problems which the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has to face. It is significant of a pervading state of mind. Negligible though it is as a contribution to the principles of international trade in their application to the protective question, it shows in what way that question looms up in the minds of those who shape the destinies of nations. International trade is a matter in which one wants ever to circumvent the foreigner. Sometimes this is to be accomplished openly, through import duties and the like; sometimes by subterfuge, as in the manipulation of railway rates and sanitary regulations. But always the foreign producer is an enemy, the foreign purchaser a victim; and the constant aim of commercial policy is to get the better of both.

Such a book raises once again the question whether the fundamental cause of international conflict is not to be found in trade rivalry. Doubtless war goes back to something deeper, and more difficult to deal with by reasoning: the elemental instinct of pugnacity and the gregarious tie of nationality. But in modern times economic prepossessions and economic rivalries play no small part in intensifying the deeper forces. A crass and crude protectionism such as pervades this volume seems to be common among administrators and academic teachers all over the Continent. Of its importance in breeding strife there is significant evidence through these pages in the repeated allusions to the commercial conflicts between Servia and Austria. Beyond doubt, we must reckon among the causes of international friction that decay of severe economic reasoning which is unmistakably to be observed in economic writings in the German tongue during the past generation. With an enormous output of economic literature and an enormous volume of statistical and informational matter, there is a lamentable lack of straight thinking. The book under review is typical of this defect. As an intellectual performance, it is negligible. But as an indication of the ways and purposes of the economic politician, it is of sad and portentous significance.

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The Cult of G. B. S.

Bernard Shaw: The Man and the Mask. By Richard Burton. New York: Henry Holt & Company. $1.50 net.

THE cult of G. B. S. groweth day by day, and many there be that water it. The last sprinkler for his devotees is furnished by Prof. Richard Burton. Of course, the general public receives passing attention, for the author conceives himself a missionary to spread the gospel in a benighted world. He refers to those who sit in darkness as "Philistines" and "simple souls." Indeed, his pity for them is so deep that the reader momentarily expects an effort to reach their level by addressing them as "poor simps." This wonder at their blindness may explain the plan of exegesis. A section on "the man" attempts to show that the unenlightened see only the mask. Then the plays are considered individually in chronological order. The material in these hundred and fifty pages is then summed up anew under the headings of Social Thinker, Poet and Mystic, Theatre Craftsman, and Place in Modern Drama. Such duplication is deemed necessary to drive home the essential traits and achievements of the man behind the mask.

Professor Burton's attitude towards his audience results directly from his unfaltering admiration for Shaw. He will never inadvertently pass "any judgment which lacks the ruddy verdict of the heart." He declares that that reader "is of all men most foolish who thinks that when Bernard Shaw gravely considers the question of his superiority to Shakespeare he is an egoist." To be sure, he utters no tirade against indulging a sense of humor while reading Shaw, but apparently only because it does not occur to him that any one will be tempted to indulge such a feeling. He quotes the whole delicious note preceding "Getting Married," including the memorable sentences: "I find in practice that the Greek form is inevitable when drama reaches a certain point in poetic and intellectual evolution. Its adoption was not, on my part, a deliberate display of virtuosity in form, but simply the spontaneous falling of a play of ideas into the form most suitable to it." "Here," immediately comments Professor Burton with exquisite solemnity, "it may be remarked, is the self-conscious craftsman meditating upon the subtleties of his craft."

The spirit of a Brahmin interpreter seems not to consort with faithful statement of fact. In 1885, we are informed, William Archer induced G. B. S. to turn to criticism. "For several years thereafter," we are assured, "he was doing those pungent little papers for the *Saturday Review* on music, art, and, later, drama, which made him recognized as a brilliant iconoclast of the pen." Why should not the ignorant and blundering public learn that, on the introduction of Archer, Shaw became art critic of the *World?* Can the pundit have forgotten that Shaw was musical critic of the *Star* and later of the *World* before joining the *Saturday Review* in January, 1895? Yet if he remembered this, how can one explain the statement that Shaw's criticism "prepared him for play-writing," or the profound generalization: "It is illuminating to see how often the future playwright is conducted to his métier by this path?" For by his own dates, which are correct in this instance, "Widowers' Houses," "The Philanderer," "Mrs. Warren's Profession," and "Arms and the Man" were all completed before 1895, and the last had enjoyed an eleven weeks' run nearly six months before the author joined the *Saturday Review.*

No one will expect from an enthusiastic advocate even an effort at unimpassioned criticism. Quite the other way round! "The death of the artist in act third of 'The Doctor's Dilemma' is one of the most daringly novel and theatrically effective scenes in the range of modern drama." Now to one unpossessed of the requisite touchstone the scene is theatrically effective because of the realistic presentation of death, since few can witness dissolution without being deeply moved. How many scores of plays are dependent on that fact? The daring originality consists in the levity with which the solemn scene is spiced; to some a far from pleasing recipe. In this connection we must remember that it is "the technical elements of this writer's work" that "have not hitherto been so definitely pointed out." Consequently we are assured that "Getting Married" is so far from being an instance of mal-expertness that its one-act form in itself illustrates "his freedom and skill in stage architecture." New York will now know better than to be bored by the second act when next the play comes to town.

The calm admirers of the admittedly brilliant and stimulating Irish dramatist and of the diverting skill with which he puts Socialist tracts and *ex-parte* discussions on the stage will regret these unrelieved assumptions of Professor Burton. But whatever opinion the reader may have of the message, he can have but one of the form. The quotations have sufficiently illustrated the frequent artificiality of the phrasing. More annoying are the very long and loose-jointed sentences, which often need to be reread to surrender up their meaning. The author suffers from an obsession for the word "and." He not only tacks on all kinds of afterthoughts with it, but he writes innumerable sentences introduced by the same sadly overtaxed connective. The discussion itself frequently rambles on in a similarly heedless manner.

A Career of Experiment

Pelle the Conqueror: Daybreak. By Martin Andersen Nexö. Translated from the Danish by Jessie Muir. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

NOW that the fourth and last volume of "Pelle" is before him, the English reader may well feel moved to reread the earlier volumes, which have appeared at considerable intervals, in order to test or to refresh his impression of the work as a whole. The very fact that each of these volumes taken by itself showed uncommon stability and definition—was, in a sense, a "complete story"—may have tended to obscure its place in the tetralogy. "Jean-Christophe," with which "Pelle" challenges comparison in several respects, is only intelligible in the light of its conclusion; its division into parts, whether the ten parts of the original or the four parts of the English version, is arbitrary. The work as a whole has no recognizable form or comeliness. "Pelle," on the other hand, not only hangs together as a whole, but represents a series of distinct phases in the career which we are following. As with "Jean-Christophe," it is a career of experiment, of search for the meaning of life—and a successful search. Rolland chose a genius, an "artist," for his protagonist: Nexö

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has chosen one to whom life is a thing distinct from art and infinitely more important.

To this final volume is appended a note about the author by Professor Jespersen of the University of Copenhagen. It seems that Nexö was very little known in Denmark when the first part of "Pelle the Conqueror" appeared, some ten years ago. He was a teacher in Copenhagen who had done a little travelling and a little writing—chiefly some short stories which a few people had recognized as exceptional. Copenhagen was the place of his birth (1869); its circumstances were of the humblest. The knowledge of slum life shown in his pictures of "the Ark" and its mean and filthy surroundings was evidently gained at first hand. So was his knowledge of rustic squalor, since most of his boyhood, like Pelle's, appears to have passed upon the island of Bornholm in the Baltic. His very name is taken from the town of Nexö on that island, where, like Pelle again, he became a shoemaker's apprentice and made his first ardent and awkward experiments in the direction of happiness. There was other work for his hands, chiefly as a bricklayer, before he won the schooling which prepared for his work as a teacher. It was all a preparation for his work as a writer. The story of Pelle is the story of a manhood struggling with all sorts of obstacles, often thrown down and trampled upon, yet making its way steadily and with unquenchable confidence, towards a mastery of life. The test of character, after all, is not that we should be always sure where we are going, but that we should never doubt ourselves to be "on our way." When Pelle first sets out townwards and fortunewards, leaving poor Father Lasse on his dunghill, his high-heartedness belongs to youth and health merely—or might have so belonged. And he is in real peril of losing it, as he faces the rough world of the town and passes from boyhood along the dangerous bridge of adolescence. There are times when even the safeguard of his egotism fails him. The world is all a muddle. The poor are the helpless victims of the rich, for example, and he is merely one of the poor; therefore he may as well drown his pain in the gutter. But even at his lowest spiritual ebb there remains the seed of something fine and valiant in him; and more than once there is a woman to remind him of it, and to spur him back to himself.

By degrees, it will be recalled, his husk of youthful selfishness is stripped away, and zeal for the service of his kind takes its place: for his kind in a narrow sense, perhaps—his fellow-workers as against those who employ and profit by them. He becomes the champion and leader of the work-people in a long struggle. It culminates in a phase of violence which results in defeat at the hands of authority and Pelle's imprisonment for a term of years. Meanwhile, as the result of his devotion to the cause, his family have nearly starved, and he discovers that his wife has sold herself to feed them and him. So the third part ended, on a note of apparent defeat and despair. The fourth, which is now before us, opens on the day when Pelle is released from prison and goes forth to face the world again. He has served a sort of martyrdom, and has some vague expectation of being received with enthusiasm by the people whom he has led. He finds that the cause has made progress, that the work-people are in better case than formerly, but that he himself is half-forgotten. Moreover, his own point of view has changed, and when the chance comes to assert himself once more as a leader he finds little to say, and nothing at all in the old militant vein. His wife at least has welcomed him, he has forgiven her, and we are to see their imperfect mating become as nearly perfect as the difference in their natures permits. But for a long time he remains unaroused to further efforts at leadership. There is hard going at home. He takes to his old trade of cobbler and so manages a bare living. Meanwhile he is not unhappy, his spirit broods and bides its time; his old confidence remains somewhere in the background of his consciousness. Presently, through the perfecting of his friendship with a member of the class which he has despised, the fresh impulse to action comes. Once more, but this time no longer in single-handed self-sufficiency or in a spirit of conflict, he takes up the burden of the workers and modestly initiates, in the character of employer, a system of coöperation which is to prove the basis of a new and happier social order. There is less of the panoramic in the concluding part of the narrative than in its predecessors. But this is natural, since Pelle has to lay the foundation of his broader usefulness in the establishment of just relations with the intimate few. We see him here learning to be a husband and a father and a friend, and by this very process confirming his manhood and fitting himself for wider service. Every member of the little surrounding group which contributes to his growth is painted with extraordinary vividness and thoroughness: his wife Ellen first of all; then Brun, the old librarian and born aristocrat whose pure love of humanity finally wins Pelle from his pride; Johanna, the desolate and yet not altogether hopeless child-victim of social wrong; Morten the writer, who is to find in Pelle and what he stands for a solider inspiration than in all the books upon Brun's shelves. Such a work of imagination as this, with its deep humor, its deep humanity, brings home to us, as nothing else can, the artificial nature of those boundaries which language and custom set between one race and another. It is a book for the world; one cannot lay it down without a sense of quickened emotion and enlarged vision.

Pontormo

Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo: His Life and Work. By Frederick Mortimer Clapp. With a Foreword by Frank Jewett Mather, jr. New Haven: Yale University Press. $7.50 net.

MR. CLAPP'S book on Pontormo is of that kind of exhaustive monograph, generally on a minor artist, which has only recently come into existence; a monograph based not only on documentary research, but on personal inspection of almost the whole work, genuine or attributed, of the artist under examination. It consists, in the author's own words, of eight parts:

> A critical study of Pontormo's life; a catalogue raisonné of his authentic works; a catalogue raisonné of the pictures that have been ascribed to him; a catalogue of the pictures attributed to him at sales and in loan exhibitions; a catalogue of paintings and frescoes that have been destroyed, lost, or are as yet unidentified; an appendix in which I have discussed his apprenticeship in greater detail than was advisable in the text itself; an appendix in which I have transcribed thirty-six documents relative to his career, most of which are now printed for the first time; an appendix that consists of a transcript of his diary, which has never before been published, and a chronological reconstruction of its pages followed by analyses of the material it contains.

The book is illustrated with a hundred and fifty-three re-

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productions of paintings and drawings by Pontormo, and the only reason that it does not contain a catalogue of this master's drawings is that Mr. Clapp has already dealt exhaustively with them in a previous work, written in French and published in Paris, "Les Dessins de Pontormo."

Mr. Clapp's work is not only rich in matter and accurate in detail; it is also, as becomes a scholar of the French language, agreeable in form. From a knowledge of the subject much greater than that of the present reviewer, Mr. Mather in the "Foreword" which he offers in lieu of prefatory sonnet, has so gracefully and justly praised the author that we prefer to let him speak:

> What is remarkable in Mr. Clapp's book is . . . that he has lured and compelled into his long task positive qualities of orderliness, lucidity, and discipline. With a vast and easily confusing mass of materials, he has been content to wait until the place appeared where each fact not merely might but must be taken up into the fabric of the book. This means that, while the book is thickly set with data, the gentle reader will find an uncluttered fairway.
>
> Notable too is the way in which narrative and comment have been knit into one structure. Criticism remains unpretentious and chiefly implicit. The close and logical order of the exposition builds up a kind of persuasive portrait, which is on the whole left to the reader's judgment. . . . Mr. Clapp not merely keeps a facile subjectivity out of his task of research, but so conducts the work that, even under that self-denying ordinance, it eventuates as a contribution to literature.

All this is true, but it does not follow that one must agree with everything that Mr. Clapp says, or that one may not wish for some things he has not said. Among the manifold qualifications for such a task as he has attempted there is one that Mr. Clapp does not, we imagine, possess; and the interpretation of some of Pontormo's drawings would perhaps have been different had the interpreter a practical knowledge of the methods of mural painters in preparing for their final work.

Besides portrait studies and certain Michelangelesque fantasias which we take to have been made for their own sake, or with no purpose beyond the ostentation of science, the drawings reproduced in this volume are of several kinds. There are: First, sketches, intended to determine the general arrangement and composition of a painting. Such trial arrangements may vary to any extent from the composition finally adopted, or they may be the final arrangement. They are never drawn from life. Secondly, nude studies for particular figures in the final composition or in some abandoned version of it. In the earlier work they are drawn from life, but later they appear to be sometimes concocted on Michelangelesque formulæ. In these studies the head and hands are often neglected because they will be separately studied. Thirdly, studies for the heads and hands of these figures. Fourthly, drapery studies, evidently drawn from the manikin, in which the nude parts are only slightly indicated, the drawing being to serve for the draperies only. Some, even, of the studies for portraits would seem to be of this nature.

A curious fact about the drawings of all these classes which Mr. Clapp has reproduced in this volume is that not more than one in seven bears the marks of having been squared up for enlargement. Were there later drawings, now lost, from which the final enlargement was made, or was Pontormo in the habit of enlarging freehand? Some of the unsquared drawings are so near the final form that it is difficult to believe that any later study intervened between them and the definitive cartoon.

A still stranger fact is that all the nude studies which bear the marks of having been done from life, whether for male or female figures, are drawn from the male model. We do not even except Mr. Clapp's fig. 110, which he calls Study of a Nude Woman, but in which we can see nothing feminine beyond the summarily sketched head. There are only five drawings in the book which depict unmistakably feminine nudes, and these are all very late studies in the ultra-Michelangelesque manner. Two of them, which Mr. Clapp calls probable studies for lost allegorical figures in the loggia at Castello, are in our judgment independent drawings in imitation of the many such which Michelangelo himself made in his old age. None of the five can well have been drawn from life. Many of the early drawings of Raphael and others show the difficulty of obtaining female models, but it is rather startling to find an artist of the mid-sixteenth century obliged to do without them. No wonder that Raphael found it necessary to "make use of a certain idea in his mind" when painting his Galatea.

But it is especially the drapery studies which we think Mr. Clapp might sometimes have interpreted differently if he had understood their exact nature. He is accustomed to speak of them as "finished studies, draped as in the picture," and to talk of the "treatment of the hands" and the expression of the heads as if the heads and hands were as seriously drawn as the draperies. Pontormo was always a mannered draughtsman, and the heads of these figures, being careless indications in which nothing more than the attitude is attempted, are full of personal tricks. They are roughly scrawled ovals with scarce any features, and the eyes, almost always too near together, are indicated by circles or even by vertical ellipses. Of one of these studies Mr. Clapp says that in it "the beautiful peasant girl of the fresco is transfigured by a touch of the superhuman." For the reason already mentioned Pontormo often puts such heads on his nude studies also, and it is such a figure that our author speaks of as "haunted by some wistful uncanniness . . . a half-human, half-spectral thing." The "superhuman" look of the one study and the "uncanniness" of the other are purely a matter of this trick of indicating the eyes, and any one may find the same expression in the drawings of Peter Newell and Palmer Cox, or in the advertisements for a well-known brand of soups. Needless to say, it never appears in Pontormo's completed works, but it is to be found in two or three studies for costume, presumably intended for portraits, where it has nothing to do with the psychology of the sitters.

Such elaborate monographs on secondary artists would hardly be written had not the writer an exaggerated estimate of the artistic personality he is concerned with. It is well that Mr. Clapp should think better of Pontormo than he deserves, but to the present writer the result of seeing together the reproduction of so great a part of that artist's work is to lower the estimate previously held of its value. Taking all the work together, Pontormo appears an artist of feeble individuality, a born imitator and mannerist, influenced at first by Albertinelli and—more profoundly—by Andrea del Sarto; then swept from his moorings by an admiration for the engravings of Albert Dürer; finally entirely absorbed by Michelangelo, of whom he becomes a mere echo.

In the last analysis Pontormo's claims to be thought a great decorator and a great portrait painter rest almost

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entirely upon two works, the lunette at Poggio a Cajano and the so-called Portrait of Cardinal Spannocchi Cervini. To take the latter first, it is good enough to justify its long attribution to Raphael, and almost good enough, if Pontormo did it, to justify Mr. Clapp's praise of that artist as "the founder of modern portraiture," although the founder of modern portraiture was, of course, in reality Titian. The attribution of it to Pontormo seems to have been first made by Morelli from its resemblance to two other portraits which Mr. Clapp rejects. We cannot find that Mr. Berenson gives any reason for his acceptance of this attribution or Mr. Clapp any other than that "the red of the robe and the tablecloth is characteristic of our master." What we come to is this: Have we a right to attribute to an artist, solely on internal evidence, a work far better than any other of the same kind which we assign to him, and then to enlarge our conception of the artist to suit this attribution?

The lunette at Poggio a Cajano needs more elaborate consideration. It was painted in 1520, when Pontormo was twenty-six years old, at the one moment when he had a chance of forming a personal style. He was emerging from the influence of Andrea and had not yet fallen under that of Dürer, while the exclusive domination of Michelangelo was still farther in the future. The first impression it makes is of something singularly original and singularly modern; quite unlike other work of the time and remarkably suggestive of such modern decoration as the earlier work of Puvis de Chavannes. It has a spaciousness, a lightness, and a charm that incline one to echo Berenson's praise of it as "the freshest, gayest, most appropriate mural decoration now remaining in Italy." Yet such study of its evolution as Mr. Clapp's reproductions have enabled us to make leads to the conclusion that its virtues were almost accidental. That Pontormo himself hardly appreciated what he had done is suggested by the fact that he never did anything in the least like it again.

In trying to understand the manner in which Pontormo arrived at his result, it is first necessary to decide at what time two sketches of the composition of a lunette pierced by a circular window (Mr. Clapp's figs. 73 and 74) were made. Mr. Berenson believes that the first of these is a study made in 1531-2, when Pontormo was commissioned to resume his work in the Medicean Villa, and that it was intended for the lunette at the other end of the great hall. Mr. Clapp thinks that it was one of the preliminary studies for the lunette actually painted and that the reason for its abandonment was the huge scale of the figures. The lunette is 9.90 metres long, and if this design were carried out the figures would be some thirteen feet high. We can see nothing in the design that might not have been done by the Pontormo who had already produced so crowded a composition as the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini, and we cannot believe that an artist who had already painted the existing lunette should have contemplated facing it with a composition on so egregious a scale.

We think, therefore, that Mr. Clapp is right; but if he is, more follows than he has seen. It follows that Pontormo only gradually realized the size of the work he had to do and the necessarily small relative scale of his figures. The study in fig. 74 would be a second trial in which the figures, though smaller than those in fig. 73, are still too large, and it would only be after this that the slight sketch in fig. 53, which Mr. Clapp calls "the earliest sheet," can have been made. The fact that this sketch gives not only the final scale but also the final arrangement of the ornamental parts of the design, which do not exist in the studies we have been considering, is conclusive.

We wish Mr. Clapp had given us another sketch which he mentions. From what he does give us we have formed this conception of what happened. Finding that his space was so large and so difficult to fill with figures on any reasonable scale, Pontormo gave up trying to fill it or to relate his figures to each other by anything else than the general symmetry of their placing and began to make studies for the separate figures, trying each in all sorts of attitudes without any general scheme of line. In no other way can one account for the surprising variety of the drawings, which seem all to refer to this fresco. After this work, as before, his compositions are invariably crowded. The spaciousness of this one was scarcely intentional. The apparent modernness of the composition is really a lack of composition, just as the apparent modernness of the drawing is a lack of real drawing. For the absence of grouping, of firm linear composition, and of structural drawing has become chronic in modern art.

Nevertheless the picture has charm and an idyllic feeling which must express something in the artist's nature that never again found expression. "Upon so great an achievement," says Mr. Clapp, "another painter would have formed a permanent manner." Unfortunately, Pontormo had not sufficient strength of personality to protect himself. His lowest depth is reached in the Martyrdom of St. Maurice in the Pitti, but we cannot, with Mr. Clapp, regard his "downfall" as "temporary." The studies for his last work, the lost frescoes in San Lorenzo, seem to us as intolerable in their baroque pomposity as Bronzino or almost as Cornelius.

Notes

A NEW and revised edition of the "Bibliography of R. L. Stevenson," undertaken by the late Col. W. F. Prideaux and completed by Mrs. Luther S. Livingston, will be issued shortly by the William Harvey Miner Company, of St. Louis.

Dr. Oppenheim, professor of international law in Cambridge University, is the editor of a series of books to be entitled "Contributions to International Law and Diplomacy," which will be published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. The first volume will be published in the autumn under the title of "A Guide to Diplomatic Practice," by the Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow.

The Macmillan Company announces the publication this week of "The New Poetry," by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson. "A League to Enforce Peace," by Robert Goldsmith, is announced as forthcoming.

The Century Company announces for early publication "Aurora the Magnificent," by Gertrude Hall; "The Immigrant and the Community," by Grace Abbott, and "Short Rations," by Madeleine Doty.

IT has been many a day since the appearance of so vital an account of contemporary German life and thinking as Herbert Bayard Swope offers in his book "Inside the German Empire" (Century; $2 net). Mr. Swope spent three months in Germany during the latter part of 1916,

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gathering information for a series of articles in the New York *World*. These articles form the basis of the present book. With good powers of observation and discrimination, and with some use of his journalistic talent Mr. Swope gives a highly interesting, trustworthy account of what he saw and heard. The book is frequently marred by bad writing and bad proof-reading, but it adds much to our knowledge of immediate conditions, and it may be of value to future historians. "Germany is not starving," Mr. Swope says (pp. 162 and 164); ". . . she is further away from that danger-point to-day than she has been at any time since the British blockade tightened about her; . . . Germany's preparation in the way of (*sic*) conserving her supplies . . . is a successful preparation for conditions that may extend over five, ten, or even twenty years, in fact, for an indefinite period." On the other hand, he says (p. 68), "life in Germany is not pleasant to-day; there is a hopeless, prison atmosphere about it that causes men to crack under the strain." Most impressive is his contrast between this "laughless" Germany and the joyously militant Germany of 1914. Most promising for the future is his conviction that the war will permanently liberalize German social and political conventions.

FROM the Columbia University Press comes a brief volume of "Studies in Magic from Latin Literature," by Eugene Tavenner. It takes no wide reading in Latin literature, of course, to encounter adequate proof of a widespread belief in magic among the ancient Latins, and Dr. Tavenner can scarcely be said to have made any substantial addition to human knowledge in showing that the Roman conception of magic was virtually the same as our own, and that the belief in it was prevalent in Italy from the earliest times, and not a Greek or Oriental importation. His contention that the air of superiority to such superstition assumed by the more cultivated Roman was insincere enters upon ground where demonstration is, of course, impossible and sweeping conclusions are of no great value. The real service which he has rendered lies in the gathering together of material scattered in so many places and in such minute fragments that few readers can find it. His *index locorum* covers at least fourscore Latin writers and fills fifteen double-column pages, which will give a slight suggestion of the labor involved. About half the text is taken up with the relation of magic to the prevention of disease. His position here is that the basis of all prophylactic magic is the assumption of some relation of *sympathia* between the amulet, or magical agent, and the disease to be prevented. This relation is evident in so many cases, and easily traced in so many others, that we are to assume its existence even where we do not succeed in finding it.

THE influence of time in reversing historical judgments has no more striking illustration in American history than that afforded by the career of Andrew Johnson. So long as the generation of Republicans who fought the Civil War and carried through the political reconstruction of the South remained in power, the policy of Johnson as President was, as a rule, spoken of only in terms of mingled hatred and contempt. By natural inference, accordingly, his earlier career, notwithstanding his later acceptance by the Republicans themselves, was either contemptible or negligible. Thanks to the work of Mr. Rhodes, however, and of others who have followed him, we now know the facts better and can appraise them more impartially and generously. To the list of special studies of the period Prof. Clifton R. Hall's "Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee" (Princeton University Press; $1.50 net), is a solid and welcome contribution. Professor Hall confines his narrative strictly to the years of Johnson's Governorship (1862-1865), with only incidental allusion to contemporary military operations or to the general issues of Reconstruction. The tangled course of events, in a period which exhibited throughout only storm and stress, is traced with a steady hand, and with both interpretative and literary skill. The author's conclusion is that Johnson did not purposely delay the reconstruction of Tennessee, either by opposing popular movements for the restoration of the State to the Union or by prolonging the period of his Governorship in the interest of his Vice-Presidential aspirations. Over against the charge that his course was arbitrary and unconstitutional must be set the fact that only, apparently, by drastic methods could such conditions of opposition and disaffection as prevailed in Tennessee be dealt with; that strictly constitutional procedure of any sort was hardly possible under the circumstances; and that while pro-slavery loyalists and peace Democrats ought not to have been discriminated against in that State "while their counterparts in the Northern States received toleration," the situation was admittedly peculiar, and Johnson's course had Lincoln's approval. The personal traits of Johnson, and the workings of his extraordinary mind in regard to slavery and secession, are admirably summarized.

THE rapid development of instruction in business subjects in our educational institutions, and the increasing public concern with the various aspects of insurance which are so vital in every-day business practice, make the appearance of W. F. Gephart's "The Principles of Insurance" (Macmillan) most timely. There are two volumes, devoted, respectively, to Life Insurance and Fire Insurance, the former replacing the author's well-known earlier work, devoted mainly to life insurance, which has now been thoroughly revised, amplified, and brought down to date. The volume on fire insurance contains twelve chapters in which are treated such pertinent topics as the economics and business organization of fire insurance, hazards, rates and rating problems, the nature of the contract, adjustment of losses, fire protection, and the relation of the state to insurance. In both volumes emphasis is placed more upon the practical applications of insurance—the social and economic aspects—than upon the strictly theoretical and technical bearings of the subjects treated. Though adapted to the purposes of the general reader, the business man, and the student, the volumes will, in all probability, find their chief use as textbooks, for which they seem excellently adapted. At the close of the various chapters are lists of references covering the main topics treated, and each volume contains a carefully selected general bibliography, including the standard works on both life and fire insurance.

THE purpose of the little volume "What Jesus Christ Thought of Himself" (Macmillan; $1 net), by Anson Phelps Stokes, is to confirm the belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. The utterances of Jesus, taken mainly from the first three Gospels, are examined with a view to indicating both the human and the divine side of the Master. While the author avows his sympathy with

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reverent scholarly criticism, he does not himself engage in this delicate pursuit, but contents himself with accepting as essentially valid the impressions of Christ reflected by the Evangelists. At the close of the historical investigation he ventures upon an estimate of Christ's personality which includes a complete humanity, and a possession by the spirit so unparalleled as to make him historically unique. This estimate, from the point of view of Christian dogma, is as untrammelled as the attitude to the Gospel tradition is restrained.

AMONG the latest publications of the Hispanic Society (Putnam; $1.25 net) is a translation from the Spanish of Señor Angel Guimerá's "La Pecadora," by Mr. Wallace Gillpatrick. Señor Guimerá is best known to Americans through his very successful play, "Marta of the Lowlands." "La Pecadora," like this author's other plays, depicts the life of the peasants of Catalonia. Daniela, a light-hearted, giddy, Catalan peasant girl elopes with a lover into France and in course of time becomes one of the deities of the Parisian stage. After receiving a death sentence from her physician, she returns to the scenes of her childhood. There her natural amiability enables her to triumph over the Puritanical prejudice of the gossiping peasants; but quite innocently she brings discord into the family of her hosts by reviving the dormant passion of Ramon, the lover of her girlhood, which naturally arouses the jealousy of the wife Antonia. But Daniela alone is the victim of the complicated situations which arise. The rôle of Daniela, with its outward frivolity and inner nobility of feeling, is of the sort to tax the powers of even the great emotional actress for whom it was written, María Guerrero. It is reminiscent of Magda, and some of the symbolism seems to have been suggested by "The Master Builder." Mr. Gillpatrick has translated with much taste and skill.

HANDLING in masterly fashion a subject of intense scientific interest and of vital commercial importance, Alexander Meek in "The Migrations of Fish" (Longmans, Green; $4.50 net) has spared no effort to elucidate every phase of the matter and to make the most of our present knowledge. His arrangement is clear and concise. An introduction treats of tides, tidal and ocean currents, geological changes, nomenclature, and the literature of the general subject. Then follow thirty-two chapters dealing with various groups of fishes, from lampreys and sharks to toad-fish and anglers. Finally, we have twenty pages of general considerations and conclusions. Until it is brought forcibly to our attention, in a volume such as this, the migration of fish would seem to be a phenomenon of extremely limited range and with most uncertain possibilities of verification. But the careful compilation of all the known data has resulted in a mass of information which almost deserves the name of science. Some fishes, such as the mudfish, do not migrate at all. The eel, on the other hand, performs a prodigious journey at maturity, and swims many scores or hundreds of miles down rivers, bucks the Gulf Stream, and never ceases its exertions until it has reached its spawning grounds in mid-ocean. The salmon, impelled by the same impulse, forsakes the sea and swims against the currents of swift-flowing rivers, leaps falls, and overcomes all obstacles which intervene between it and its goal in the upper reaches of the rivers. Between these extremes is found every variety of spawning migration. But these tremendous egg-laying impulses come only at maturity. From birth until they are three to six years old fish spend much of their time in seasonal migrations, or periodical journeys in search of food or of colder or warmer water. There are even migrations within migrations, as during the seasonal movements, when the great deep-sea schools rise rhythmically upward towards the surface at night and sink downward during the day. These movements are all of great importance to fishermen and to those who are concerned with the larger interests of conservation, looking to the future, when, perhaps, the supply of fish food may become a deciding factor in the preservation of human existence. Dr. Meek fearlessly attempts to solve some of the intricate problems of dispersal both of fossil and of living fishes, and his summary of our knowledge of the deep-sea movements of fish serves to emphasize how much more investigation of this phase of the subject is needed.

EFFICIENT use of too scanty resources is shown in a number of recent publications by Dr. Frank Weitenkampf, curator of the Print Department of the New York Public Library. Of enduring value is the bibliography, "Prints and their Production," containing all relevant items on the Library's shelves. The pamphlet is well arranged and comprises 132 pages, with 30 pages more of index. This possibly gives an impression of greater richness than actually exists. A very useful feature of this list will be that it locates the *lacunæ* which public spirit must fill. Where so much has been done, more should be. Why not also useful little brochures illustrating exhibitions, "Chiaroscuro Prints," or describing accessions, "The Stauffer Print Collection"? The Library has been fortunate in procuring the collection of Americana made by the late David McN. Stauffer, and only less precious heritage, his own amplified and corrected copy of "American Engravers on Copper and Steel." Mr. Stauffer had pushed his researches into all the byways of the subject, and his collection, as it is briefly characterized by Charles Allen Munn, is both extraordinarily rich and miscellaneous. The casual and by no means inconsiderable windfalls which Dr. Weitenkampf describes in the pamphlet, "The Library's Print Room," give rise to the wish that his intelligent and unsparing efforts may receive more systematic and stable support.

Notes from the Capital

General Funston

THE name of Funston always calls to my mind a tall, powerfully built member of Congress, a trifle past middle life, who in the early nineties wielded a considerable influence in the House with his sledge-hammer style of oratory, and who was fain to exhibit his independence by leaning towards Populism in spite of his nominal Republican affiliation. Such incongruities were by no means rare in his home State of Kansas in those days. Ten years later, Edward Hogue Funston's record of long public service had been quite eclipsed by the rise to fame of his son Frederick, a light, lithe-limbed, little fellow, as agile in

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movement as the sire had been ponderous, whose heart-shaped face with its slits of eyes and tilted nose suggested inquisitive rather than commanding qualities, and who preferred writing to speech as a vehicle of expression. He had left the University of Kansas without having fully settled upon a means of livelihood, but with no misgivings as to his ability to pay his own way. Part of the expenses of his college course he had earned by acting as a guide for visitors and by all sorts of odd jobs, and the love of variety thus cultivated drew him naturally towards newspaper work. But reporting criminal court proceedings and interviewing the locked-up enemies of society palled upon him after a while, so that he welcomed an opportunity offered by his chief's temporary absence to assume charge of the editorial desk and direct things. The opportunity was short-lived, but he improved it to the utmost by turning the paper politically to the right-about-face between two days. The change produced a sensation quite as lively as he had expected, and brought back the editor by leaps and bounds. As a sequel, Funston retired from journalism with such suddenness that the usual formalities of farewell were omitted by common consent.

Oddly enough, this adventure-loving youth had made a somewhat serious study of the peaceful science of botany, and this he brought now into play. As the son of his father a position was found for him in the field-work of the Department of Agriculture, and he took a prominent part in exploring expeditions sent successively into Death Valley in Southern California and into the interior of Alaska. Having got his mettle well tempered by exposure to such thermometric extremes, he looked about to see what he should try next. It so happened that before entering college he had had occasion to visit Mexico on a special errand and remained there long enough to acquire a pretty fair notion of the country and the people. The little knowledge of Spanish thus gained he thought he might put to use by a trip to South America, where he became interested in coffee-growing, and soon he was back in New York seeking financial backing for a great plantation enterprise. Unhappily, the millionaires he approached were all too deaf and blind to appreciate the chance of a lifetime, and after a saddening but illuminating experience he gave up his missionary endeavors and looked around again for a place to apply his acquaintance with Spanish to somebody's profit.

The Cuban insurrection was at its height, and Palma was in charge of the Junta in New York. To him went Funston, begging to be allowed to take a hand in the struggle. Palma seemed not much impressed by his five-feet-four and his insignificant weight, but, after satisfying himself that the young man was in earnest, suggested that what the rebels most needed was artillery. Funston contrived to get hold of a Hotchkiss gun, mastered its mechanism, spent his nights drilling a revolutionary squad in an out-of-the-way rendezvous, and soon was in Cuba, enrolled and equipped as a filibuster. A year or two of active fighting, attested by a varied assortment of wounds, won him the rank of major and commandant of artillery in the Cuban patriot army. Then the United States Government embarked in the struggle, and he entered its volunteer service as colonel of the Twentieth Kansas Infantry, with a chance for a good long rest in Florida. But presently came orders to the Philippines, and in due course his transfer to the regular army. The capture of Aguinaldo—which, by the by, was not, physically speaking, his personal act, or ever mentioned by him as such—was the fruit of a plan he had carefully mapped, carried out by an expedition under his individual command. It won him instant promotion to a brigadier-generalcy and made him a world celebrity.

Notable as was his record as a warrior, it remained for an act performed in a time of profound peace to call forth the highest tribute of admiration from his fellow-countrymen. This was his course as acting commander of the Federal troops in San Francisco when the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906, occurred. Startled from his sleep at dawn by the rocking of his house, he was in the street in a moment. His senior in command had gone East; telegraph and telephones were out of commission; no public conveyances were running; a destructive fire was threatening to sweep the city, and the breaking of the water-mains had rendered the Fire Department helpless. As quickly as he could mount a messenger, he sent orders to the Presidio and Fort Mason, in response to which squads of soldiers were soon marching into the city to aid the civil authorities in maintaining order, preventing looting, fighting the fire where practicable, and generally allaying the popular panic which had set in. How many lives and how much property were saved through his prompt and decisive action we shall never know; but thousands of Americans who had formed their first impressions of the little general from the lurid stories which flooded the press immediately after the capture of Aguinaldo had occasion to revise their first impressions of the stuff he was really made of.

Funston at the time of his death was no longer the lithe-limbed light-weight of his youth. He had added no cubits

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to his stature, but his body had taken on a roundness it once lacked, the lower half of his face had filled out, and, with the changes in hair and beard which time insists upon making with all of us, he looked the mature man of forty-eight. His acquaintance with Mexico and the Mexicans had ripened with increase of years, and his Spanish had lost much of its original Kansas accent. He still carried his plain speaking sometimes to an undiplomatic length, and his choice of epithets and figures of speech occasionally left something to be desired in the matter of elegance; but he was not the blustering braggart of the romancers, and his first personal pronoun was never obtrusive. As used to be said of Admiral Dewey by the fellow-officers who knew him best, Funston was not a great man, but a man of resources, who knew what to do in an emergency and did it without the loss of an hour. And he was extremely rare among the "heroes" of recent wars in having escaped mention as a "Presidential possibility." TATTLER

The Vice-President's Oath of Office

THE very first Federal statute approved by President Washington on Monday, June 1, 1789, was an act to regulate the time and manner of administering certain oaths. It was formulated with careful regard to a statement in Article VI of the Constitution, which declared, among other things, that Senators, Representatives, and all executive officers of the United States should be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support the Constitution. The form of oath prescribed in the act was simple: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear or affirm (as the case may be) that I will support the Constitution of the United States." So far as the Senate was concerned, the oath was to be administered within three days after the passing of the act by any one member of the Senate to the President of the Senate, and by him to all the members and to the Secretary. In any future case of a President of the Senate "who shall not have taken the said oath or affirmation, the same," it was declared, "shall be administered to him by any one of the members of the Senate."

Vice-President John Adams took his first oath of office on Wednesday, June 3—within the days designated by the law. The administration of the oath by Senator John Langdon, of New Hampshire, first President *pro tem.* of the Senate, was the concluding feature of Adams's installation. On Monday, April 6, Adams's election had been determined by actual count of the electoral votes. The following Thursday, April 9, Sylvanus Bourne, a special messenger bearing the official word of the election, reached Adams's home at Braintree, Mass. Starting together for New York city, then the seat of government, on Monday morning, April 13, Adams and Bourne journeyed there via Boston through Worcester, Suffield, Hartford, New Haven, and Stamford. They reached New York on Monday afternoon, April 20, about four o'clock. The next day Adams, presented to the Senate by Langdon, delivered his inaugural message before that body. Rather more than a week later, on Thursday, April 30, George Washington took the oath prescribed by the Constitution, which was administered by Chancellor Livingston, and became President of the United States.

There is no contemporary reference to Adams as present at Washington's second inauguration on Monday, March 4, 1793. The previous Friday, March 1, he had retired from the Senate; and Langdon was then made President *pro tem.* The inaugural ceremonies were brief, the Senate adjourning the same day. When the Senate reassembled on Monday, December 2, Langdon again administered the oath to Vice-President Adams. There was, however, no second inaugural message from the Vice-President.

Thenceforth to 1861 it was customary for incoming Vice-Presidents to take the oath of office at the hands of the President *pro tem.* of the Senate, in accordance with these earliest precedents. Such exceptions within the period as there were I shall consider later. Beginning with Vice-President Hamlin, in 1861, it has been customary, wherever possible, for the retiring Vice-President to administer the oath to his successor. In only seven instances since that time, where at inaugurations there were no Vice-Presidents, have oaths been administered to the second officer by the President *pro tem.* Hamlin's oath was administered by Vice-President John C. Breckinridge on Saturday, March 2, at the very close of the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress. Lincoln's oath was administered and the inauguration ceremonies were held on the following Monday, March 4. Vice-President Hamlin, in March, 1865, administered the oath to Vice-President Andrew Johnson. Vice-President Colfax, on the other hand, in March, 1869, took the oath at the hands of the President of the Senate *pro tem.*

As it happens, there are just seven instances in the story of the administration of this oath which, by reason of certain variations from custom, are historically interesting and impressive. In two instances oaths were administered by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; in a single instance the oath was administered by the oldest Senator present; and in three instances—with probability strongly inclining to a fourth instance—oaths were administered away from the seat of the national Government.

(1.) On Monday, March 4, 1805, Chief Justice Marshall administered oaths of office to both President Jefferson and Vice-President George Clinton. Exactly twenty-eight years later, on Monday, March 4, 1833, the same Chief Justice, then grown old in service, administered oaths of office to President Jackson and Vice-President Van Buren. Accordingly, only one Chief Justice has hitherto ever administered the Vice-Presidential oath. The two instances, while varying from common practice, rested for justification on the statute law (1 Statutes at Large, 83; 2 ibid., 98).

(2.) On March 4, 1825, when Vice-President Calhoun was for the first time to be sworn into office, there was no President *pro tem.* of the Senate, for Senator John Gaillard had resigned that office on the previous day, with a farewell word to his fellow-Senators. It is true that Gaillard had been reëlected Senator from South Carolina for a new term, and he had himself to be sworn into office. Vice-President Tompkins was absent. He had been in the Senate only at odd times since 1822, for he was a man of intemperate habits and burdened with debts. The Senate assembled at 10:30 A. M. Senator Elijah H. Mills, of Massachusetts, associated on the committee of arrangements with Senators John H. Eaton and Martin Van Buren—the two latter men powerful friends of Andrew Jackson—proposed

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that Jackson, as the oldest Senator present on the occasion, should administer the oath to Vice-President Calhoun. Accordingly, Jackson did so. So far as Jackson was concerned, the honor was a minor one; but it brought him conspicuously into view, and was doubtless appreciated by him on the occasion of the inauguration of President John Quincy Adams, his victorious rival.

(3.) The first Vice-President who appears to have taken the oath of office away from the seat of Government was George Clinton, in 1809. It was the occasion of his second election to the Vice-Presidency. According to the official record, Vice-President Clinton retired from the Senate on Monday, January 30, of that year. He did not again resume the chairmanship until Monday, May 22. Meantime, on Saturday, March 4, President Madison had been inaugurated for his first term. On that day Senator John Milledge, of Georgia, acted as President *pro tem.* All official records of the Senate between January 30 and May 22, 1809, are silent regarding Clinton. Where was he on March 4? It is possible that Clinton, reëlected to office in 1809, assumed that the oath taken by him in 1805 was sufficient. But it is more probable to believe that he took the oath wherever on March 4 he happened to be. His whereabouts on that date remains thus far a puzzle—small enough, to be sure, but likely to arouse the interest of antiquarians, inasmuch as it is associated with a larger problem.*

When, on March 4, 1813, Madison was inaugurated for his second term as President, Elbridge Gerry, Vice-President-elect, was at his home in Cambridge, Mass. Over two months later, on Monday, May 24, Gerry appeared in the Senate (then assembled in early session) and "exhibited a certificate of his having taken the oath of office prescribed by law; which was read." Gerry thereupon delivered the customary inaugural address. The oath, taken in Cambridge, according to Gerry's biographer, James T. Austin, was administered by the Judge of the District Court of the United States.

From November, 1820, to March 3, 1821, Vice-President Tompkins attended no gathering of the Senate. Like Monroe, he had been reëlected in 1820 for a second term. But he did not appear at the inauguration ceremonies on Monday, March 5, 1821. The previous Saturday (March 3) he took the oath of office, presumably at his residence on Staten Island, New York. Hearing of Monroe's decision to be inaugurated on Monday, March 5, Tompkins again took the oath on that day.

The last instance of a Vice-President sworn into office outside Washington was that of William R. King, of Alabama, running mate in 1852-1853 of Franklin Pierce. King's is the single example of a Vice-President sworn into office on foreign soil. The ceremony required for its authorization a special statute. The circumstances of the incident have never been carefully set forth.

Owing to the feeble state of his health in the latter part of December, 1852, Senator King, then retiring as President *pro tem.*, resigned that position for the sake of rest sufficient to assure him ability to assume the duties of the Vice-Presidency in the following March. In January he sailed from Norfolk, Va., on the Government steamer Fulton, placed at his service by order of the Secretary of the Navy, John P. Kennedy, and went via Key West to Havana, Cuba. From Havana, after a week's rest, King sailed to the port of Matanzas, sixty miles eastward; thence he went up into the hills a few miles inland for the sake of drier air and greater warmth. He was, he knew, in the last stages of consumption. Throughout the winter—ever since his resignation of the Chairmanship of the Senate—the newspapers watched closely the movements of the sick man and the changing conditions of his illness. On February 23, with the inauguration of Franklin Pierce rather more than a week off, a bill (S. 639) was introduced specially providing for the administration of the oath of office to William R. King, Vice-President-elect, on Cuban soil. It went the next day to the House of Representatives, where it was slightly amplified. On March 2, 1853, it became law with President Fillmore's approval. It provided for a special case thus far unique in our annals.

The law of March 2 authorized William L. Sharkey, of Tennessee, then Consul at Havana, "to administer at Havana, or any other place in the island [Cuba] . . . the oath of office prescribed by the sixth article of the Constitution . . . on the fourth day of March next, or some subsequent day." As an alternative and afterthought, provision was made (section 2) that any judge or magistrate in the United States might administer the oath. Whoever did so was required by the law to certify it under his hand to the Congress of the United States.

On Saturday, March 5, the new Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, dispatched a copy of the law to Consul Sharkey at Havana. The incident was among the first duties to which Marcy was bound to attend. On Sunday, March 13—just over a week later—there appeared in the New Orleans *Picayune* a circumstantial story of the administration of the oath of office to William R. King by Vice-Consul Thomas M. Rodney, our representative at Matanzas, on March 4, inauguration day. Although a clever fabrication, the story attracted attention, and was copied widely. On the very same day the New York *Herald* reported from Charleston, S. C., that Vice-President King had declined to take the official oath, fearing lest he should never reach Washington. This rumor also went the rounds of the press. Early in April the real truth began to appear. Consul Sharkey, in accordance with the act of Congress, administered the oath to Vice-President King on Thursday, March 24, about noon. It appears that Judge Sharkey, soon after the receipt of Marcy's dispatch, had made the journey eastward to Matanzas, and thence had travelled an additional dozen or fifteen miles inland to the private estate known as "Ariadne," of Col. John Chartrand, a planter. On this estate, a large sugar plantation, King was sojourning in order to avail himself of what was termed the "sugar-cure," that is to say, the breathing daily of hot vapors from the sugar vats. The simple ceremony was carried out in the presence of some thirteen Americans, all of whom signed the official certificate, which was addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. This certificate is on file and under control of the Chief of the Bureau of Indexes and Archives in the Department of State. I have never discovered a statement to indicate that it was brought formally to the attention of either house of Congress. "The Vice-President," said a contemporary letter from a Havana correspondent, dated March 26, "being too feeble to stand without assistance, was supported on the right by G. W. Jones, M. C., and on the left by T. M. Rodney, Esq., Consul."

*Through the courtesy of Mr. Peter M. Wilson, now Chief Clerk of the Senate, and with the aid of the File Clerk, Mr. H. J. Overman, I was permitted to examine files of Senate manuscript papers for the first session of the Eleventh Congress with a view to the settlement of Clinton's oath. There was no evidence of the matter to be found.

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That King never reached Washington is well enough known. He left Matanzas aboard the Fulton on April 7, following. Six days later he reached Mobile. Thence he was carried to his plantation at Selma, Alabama, where he died on Monday evening, April 18, 1853.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED

Reviews of Plays

"OH BOY"

THIS, the fourth of the Princess Theatre's musical productions, is another operetta which gives one hopes for the future. If there is no particular brilliance in the book, at least it is free from offence either to good taste or to intelligence and serves the purpose which a libretto was once supposed to serve in formulating a coherent plot. For the elimination of a professional comedian, encouraged by an unimaginative management to introduce the foreign matter of his own gags and "stunts," we cannot be sufficiently grateful. Perhaps we may look forward to a time when the comedian of musical comedy, as at present understood, will have departed unwept and unsung, delegating his responsibilities, where they properly belong, to the authors and the characters that naturally fall within the scheme of the plot. That experiment is here tried with considerable success, the authors providing sufficiently amusing lines and situations and their intentions being admirably executed, in particular, by Marie Carroll, Anna Wheaton, Hal Forde, and Tom Powers. We are further indebted to the present authors, Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse for lyrics that are often clever in substance and always metrical in form, and to the performers for rendering them in such a way that it is possible to distinguish the words, which are usually very well worth hearing. "Nesting Time in Flatbush" is a really delightful satire, to which Mr. Edward Kern's music contributes not a little, on the usual appeal of at least one number in every musical comedy to come and make love in some exotic region. The physical attractions of the chorus in "Oh Boy" and the attributes of costumings and general stage presentation demonstrate that it is not impossible to make the appeal to the eye, which is a legitimate function of this class of entertainment, without at the same time insulting the intelligence.

S. W.

Finance

Germany and the Sea

OUR markets' primary interest in Germany's announced programme of unrestricted destruction of enemy and neutral ships alike had to do naturally with the question whether some submarine commander would make war between Germany and ourselves inevitable. But the secondary interest, pending settlement of that momentous uncertainty, converged, first on the effect of the actual submarine campaign on England, and next on its effect upon our own industry and export trade. The action of the Stock Exchange seemed to reflect increased composure as to an act by Germany which would precipitate war. Its view of the two other questions was perhaps embodied in the slow and irregular reaction of prices during the past week.

This attitude of uncertainty was especially in evidence. Lloyd George's speech to Parliament last Friday declared that the success of the Allies depended on successful solution of the "tonnage shortage," and announced compulsory cuts in certain imports. Importation of fruits and foreign tea and coffee would hereafter be prohibited and importation of paper heavily curtailed, in order to make room for something more than a million tons of freight-room annually for necessary cargoes. This, with the fixing of minimum prices for the future produce of English farms, was stated by the Premier as a result of the facts, first, that even before the war began available ocean tonnage had been only just adequate to ordinary needs, and secondly, that, owing to the world's short harvests of 1916, supplies of food in England were lower than ever before.

Such measures of themselves need have caused no surprise; they were in the nature of "preparedness." A recent English trade estimate showed that even in 1916 destruction of English merchant ships, stated by tonnage, was larger by 553,273 tons than the year's new production, and that even with the world at large the losses exceeded new output by 157,564 tons. The British Admiralty last week showed that only one in 100 vessels entering or leaving English ports since February 1 had been destroyed, and that the 89 ships with 268,000 tonnage sunk in the first eighteen days of February did not exceed as sensationally as had been imagined the 65 and 69 losses in the same days of January and December, with tonnages of 182,000 and 201,000, respectively.

But Lloyd George's provisions were directed against any further loss whatsoever, and his statements added interest to our own position, as regards trade with Europe. That certain of our own ocean liners have postponed their sailings, is well known. Yet the *Iron Age* last week made the striking statement that "with the few exceptions which have had great publicity, movement of ocean vessels is substantially as regular as ever." *Bradstreet's* report of the shipments of wheat, flour, and corn from the United States and Canada last week gave a total of 6,200,000 bushels, and the decrease from the 8,000,000 weekly average of January was easily explained by reduced supplies and the railway embargo. According to the New York Custom House returns, average weekly shipments from this port in December were $51,500,000; in January, $52,500,000. For the week ending February 10 exports were reported as $93,100,000, breaking all weekly records; in the next week they had fallen only to $46,700,000; for last week, they are now reported as $32,000,000. The admitted delay of ten or twelve days in compiling actual shipments makes the latest of these reports the fairest indication of trade since Germany's "war zone" order of January 31. The $32,000,000 figure is about one-half of the average weekly export from New York in January. But on the other hand, it is fully as large as the same week's export in 1916, and is 50 to 100 per cent. above its results in any previous year.

We shall get a much clearer light upon the facts from the full "trade statement" for February, due for publication a month from now. This will have the highest monthly showing of our history with which to compare. Although December's exports of merchandise had sur-

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passed all previous monthly figures, those of January, published last week and amounting to $613,400,000, were 17½ per cent. in excess of December and 85 per cent. beyond January, 1916. The $241,700,000 imports in January were 31 per cent. larger than the year before, and the $371,700,000 excess imports in January were greater by nearly $21,000,000 than the previous high record.

It still remains, therefore, to determine how the new German policy will affect our outward trade. The British Government's restrictions on imports hardly hit our trade, taken as a whole; the great bulk of our shipments to Great Britain are commodities which must be had by the importer. Losses of British vessels plying between London and New York may do more harm. What their actual effect will be, depends on a number of doubtful questions—whether, for instance, Germany will persist in challenging the whole neutral world, or whether the party of political sanity in Germany will regain control; whether the submarines will meet the same fate as in 1915, and what will happen to our own ships. If, in the end, Germany's submarines interfere with our own merchant vessels on the same ocean route, the President has already redeemed his pledge to ask Congress for authority "to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION

Bilbro, M. The Middle Pasture. Small, Maynard. $1.25 net.
Frothingham, E. B. The Way of the Wind. Houghton Mifflin. $1.40 net.
Howard, K. The Gay Life. Lane. $1.30 net.
Singmaster, E. The Long Journey. Houghton Mifflin. $1 net.
The Best Short Stories of 1916. Edited by E. J. O'Brien. Small, Maynard. $1.50 net.
The Stories of H. C. Bunner. The Suburban Sage. The Runaway Browns. Scribner. $1.35 net each.

MISCELLANEOUS

Bell, A. M. The Johnson Calendar, or Samuel Johnson for Every Day in the Year. Oxford University Press.
Bellowes, P. Victory Crowned. San Francisco: Paul Elder.
Calkins, R. Idle Words. Pilgrim Press. 50 cents.
Dasent, G. W. East o' the Sun and West o' the Moon, and Other Norse Fairy Tales. Putnam. $1.25 net.
Erb, F. O. The Development of the Young People's Movement. University of Chicago Press. $1 net.
Fineman, H. John Davidson: A Study of the Relation of His Ideas to His Poetry. Privately printed.
Foster, R. F. Pirate Bridge. Latest Development of Auction Bridge. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Goldman, M. C. The Public Defender. Putnam. $1 net.
Guide to the Nature Treasures of New York City. Scribner. 75 cents net.
Hankey, D. A Student in Arms. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Hargrave, J. At Suvla Bay. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Hay, I. Getting Together. Doubleday, Page. 50 cents net.
Headlam, J. W. The Issue. Houghton Mifflin. $1 net.
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Summary of the News

PRESIDENT WILSON finally went before Congress on Monday to deliver his long-expected address on the crisis brought about by German submarine measures. The address, which was of considerable length, was devoted in great part to a review of the situation. The authority of definite character which Congress was asked to give him Mr. Wilson stated that he already possessed "by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers.' That authority was "to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms should that become necessary, and with the means of using them." The rest of the sentence—"and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary or adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas"—appears less definite and has been taken hold of by Republicans in Congress as affording adequate grounds for pressing the demand that an extra session of the new Congress be summoned after March 4. Declaring that "no course of my choosing or of theirs [Congress's] will lead to war," Mr. Wilson seemed to define the policy which he intended to adopt as one of "armed neutrality," for which, he said, "there is abundant American precedent." A phrase in the address which has occasioned a good deal of resentment because of its apparent reflection on American shipowners was that in which Mr. Wilson referred to American ships as "timidly keeping to their home ports."

THE President's message was preceded last week by manifestations of restiveness on the part of Congress under the strain of prolonged uncertainty in regard to the issue with Germany. Brooding discontent in the Senate finally materialized in an overt act, when the Republican minority started a filibuster on the Revenue bill, in the course of which there was some plain speaking, both by those who were pacifically inclined and by those who were not, in regard to the rights of Congress and the President's duty in the present crisis. The filibuster was ended on Saturday by agreement.

NOW that it has been definitely decided that American ships and citizens must be protected in their legitimate seafarings it is not worth while to recall, for the sake of speculating on their degrees of overtness, various acts of German submarines which have involved American citizens, but presumably the torpedoing on Sunday, without warning, of the Cunarder Laconia, with American passengers on board, and the incidental death from exposure of two American women, would be held to constitute an overt act. From February 1 to February 26, inclusive, 177 ships, of a total tonnage of 444,169, have been reported sunk in the war zone.

WHETHER or not overtness has been established, there has been no lack of warning from Germany that the will to be overt is there. "Whoever dares to penetrate the barred zone perishes in it" was the grandiloquent announcement of the semi-official Overseas News Agency as long ago as February 20, and at the opening of the Reichstag on February 22 the President, Dr. Kaempf, took occasion to assert that Germany and her allies would employ the submarine "without restriction." On the other hand, for domestic consumption the German press warns its readers not to expect too sensational results from the submarine measures; as the *Täglische Rundschau* regretfully puts it, "we cannot expect our submarines to achieve another St. Bartholomew's massacre."

OF all the neutrals Holland's present lot is the most grievous. Explain it as Germany may and offer what excuses she will, the torpedoing on February 22 of seven Dutch ships a few hours after they left Falmouth under a guarantee of safety which, though Germany now says it was "relative," the captains and the Dutch authorities obviously thought sufficient, means one of two things: either Germany has added one more to the instances in which her word has counted for nothing; or, as we suggest in our editorial columns, she has, in her submarine campaign, loosed forces which she is totally unable to control.

SIR EDWARD CARSON, First Lord of the Admiralty, in a frank statement to the House of Commons on February 21, revealed the fact that the loss in tonnage since the new submarine measures went into effect has been greater by 58,000 tons than figures compiled by Lloyd's had previously shown. Sir Edward Carson's figures were for the first eighteen days of February. During that time 134 vessels, Allied and neutral, of a total tonnage of 304,000, were lost. On the other hand, the total number of vessels plying to and from ports of the United Kingdom in the same period was 12,949, the estimated number of ships in the danger zone at any one time being 3,000. Admitting that the submarine menace was serious and that it had not yet been overcome, although he was certain that a solution of the problem would be found, Sir Edward Carson outlined the measures taken by the Admiralty to combat it.

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE'S long-expected speech on the economic measures which Great Britain is to take to meet the submarine danger was made on February 23. The Premier certainly did not seek to minimize the danger, assuring the nation that if it was not prepared to accept "drastic measures," then "disaster is before us." The shortage of tonnage, he admitted, applied to a slight degree even to tonnage for military purposes. The alleviative measures proposed by Mr. Lloyd George we can only give in barest outline: First, speeding up of shipbuilding; secondly, restriction of imports to absolute necessities; thirdly, intensive cultivation of land in England, to encourage which minimum prices for a term of years will be guaranteed to farmers and a minimum wage to farm laborers; fourthly, a reduction in the amount of beer brewed from 26,000,000 barrels in 1916 to 10,000,000 this year.

FURTHER measures undertaken by the British Admiralty to make the blockade of Germany more stringent were promulgated in an Order in Council, dated February 16 and published on February 21. The new order, which is denounced by the law-abiding Germans as the most heinous infringement of neutral rights in the records of sea-warfare, was interpreted by Lord Robert Cecil, in a statement to the Associated Press on February 20, as meaning that "vessels trying to run the blockade with goods to or from Germany, directly or indirectly, will expose themselves to condemnation in a prize court." Furthermore, failure to enter a British port for examination will be regarded as presumptive evidence that a ship is carrying a cargo of enemy origin or destination. At the same time Lord Robert Cecil announced that, to meet the wishes of neutrals, arrangements had been made for the examination of certain ships at Halifax instead of at Kirkwall.

AUSTRIA'S relations with the United States remain undefined as we write. Acting under instructions from the State Department, Ambassador Penfield on February 20 presented to the Foreign Office at Vienna a request for a clear and final definition of the dual monarchy's attitude in regard to the submarine warfare. The official reply had not been published at the beginning of the week and the Austrian press has been virtually silent on the question. Dispatches from Berlin, where it is said the nature of the reply is known, have, however, expressed small expectation that a rupture would be avoided.

DESPITE an urgent plea by the President for the prompt ratification of the treaty with Colombia, Senator Stone had to report last week that Republican opposition would make it useless to bring up the treaty at this session.

PROHIBITIONISTS and the liquor interests alike are said to be pleased, though not for the same reasons, with the passage through the House on February 21 of the Senate's so-called "bone-dry" amendment to the Post Office Appropriation bill, which is designed to exclude from prohibition territory all liquor advertising and to prohibit absolutely the interstate shipment of intoxicants to dry States.

ONE billion pounds of new money, subscribed for by more than five million persons, is the amount of the new British war loan.

BRITISH army and navy estimates presented to the House of Commons last week provide for an army of 5,000,000 men, exclusive of India, and bring the personnel of the navy up to 450,000.

THE past week has been one of the most successful of the war for British military operations. Presumably as a result of the recent policy of trench raiding on the Somme front and accompanying gains of tactical positions, the German forces on February 25 commenced the most considerable retiring movement which has taken place since the retreat from the Marne. Along a front of eleven miles, extending from east of Gueudecourt to south of Gommecourt, the British have advanced their positions to a depth of two miles. The full extent of the German retreat is not known as we write, but hopes seem to be entertained that Bapaume itself may fall into British hands. Almost simultaneously with this news came the announcement on Monday of the occupation by the British forces on the Tigris of all the Turkish positions from Sanna-i-yat to Kut-el-Amara, the town of Kut falling automatically into the hands of the British. The Turks were reported to be in full retreat towards Baghela, pursued by British cavalry.

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